

Description and Genealogy
of
The Manuscripts and Prints
of
Lydgate's Troy Book.

INAUGURAL-DISSERTATION

DER

PHILOSOPHISCHEN FAKULTÄT I. SEKTION

DER

LUDWIG-MAXIMILIANS-UNIVERSITÄT MÜNCHEN

EINGEREICHT DEN 17. NOVEMBER 1904

VON

HENRY BERGEN.



BUNGAY:

PRINTED BY RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LIMITED,

The Chaucer Press.

1906

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

I

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTS.

AN unusually large number of manuscripts of Lydgate's *Troy Book* have come down to us, testifying to the extraordinary popularity of the work in the 15th and 16th centuries. All told, I have been able to examine twelve, and have obtained knowledge of three others, which circumstances have unfortunately prevented my seeing. There are also two prints: one of 1513 by Richard Pynson, and the other of 1555 by Thomas Marshe. In addition, there is a print of an anonymous modernised version of 1614 by Thomas Purfoot. Of the manuscripts, four are in the British Museum, three in the Bodleian Library, and one each in the John Rylands Library, and in the libraries at St. John's College, Oxford; Exeter College, Oxford; Cambridge University; Trinity College, Cambridge; Gloucester Cathedral; Helmingham Hall, Suffolk; and Harvard University.

The *Troy Book* consists in a *prologue*¹ of 334 lines, of five *books*, containing respectively 4436, 8706, 5764, 7108, and 3612 lines, an *envoy* of 91 lines, addressed to Henry V., and, finally, the *verba translatoris ad librum suum* of 16 lines,—a total of 30,117 lines. The last 307 lines of Book V., although an integral part of the text, may be said roughly to form an *epilogue*, also addressed to Henry V. The prologue and five books are written in Chaucer's heroic verse; the envoy consists of 13 stanzas of seven five-beat lines, rhyming *ababbec* (Chaucer's rhyme royal), and the *verba translatoris* in two stanzas of eight lines, rhyming *ababedcd*.

The title of the poem, as designated by Lydgate himself, is the *Troy Book*.² Pynson's print bears the title, "The hystorie / Sege

¹ In MSS. Cotton, Augustus A. iv, Digby 232, and Trinity O. 5. 2, the passage containing the first 202 lines of Book II. is separated by a miniature and large initial from the rest of the book. Although it is probable that this was done on the authority of the copyists, the passage in question is purely introductory and apparently of Lydgate's own composition.

² Comp. Prologue, 147-148:

"Whyche tyme I gan the prolog to beholde
Of Troye Boke, I-made be dayes olde. . . ."

also I. 78, etc.

TROY BK.

and dysturceyon of Troye.¹ The rambling titles of the 1555 print and the modernised version of 1614 obviously do not rest on the authority of the author.

A. THE MANUSCRIPTS.

1. C = Cotton, Augustus A. iv.

British Museum. See RITSON, *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 67, note; DIBDIN'S *Ames*, IV, 495; WARD, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 75 *et seq.*; SCHICK, *Temple of Glas*, xci, ci; LEE, article 'Lydgate,' *Dict. Nat. Biog.* XXXIV, 312 a; SOMMER, *Caxton's Lefevre*, I, xlii, note. Vellum, early 15th century (1420-30).² Large folio (about

¹ See Prologue, 105-107:

"Whyche me comaunded the drery pitus fate
Of hem of Troye in englysche to translate,
The sege also and the destruccioun. . . ."

Guido's work was generally known under the title *Historia Destructionis Troiae*.

² For the date of the completion of the *Troy Book*, see the interesting details in Koepfel, *Lydgate's Story of Thebes. Eine Quellenuntersuchung*, Munich, 1884, pp. 10-11, Schick, *Temple of Glas*, p. ci, and Skeat, Letter to *The Academy* of May 7, 1892, p. 445-46. Koepfel unfortunately had access to the modernised version of 1614 only, in which the year 1421 is incorrectly stated to be the date of the completion of the work. According to the most reliable texts (C, D 2, P 1) the translation was finished, as Professor Schick has pointed out, in the spring of 1420. It is difficult, however, to say what Lydgate meant by lines 3366 *et seq.* of Book V. (quoted by Schick, p. ci) where he states that the translation was completed in the year one thousand four hundred and twenty "ner". . . the eighth year after the coronation of Henry V. Henry V. was crowned on April 9, 1413 (comp. article 'Henry V.' *Dict. Nat. Biog.*), and consequently the eighth year after the coronation must have begun on April 9, 1420. Now, according to the old style, the legal year 1420 began on March 25, 1420 (new style), and if by "ner" Lydgate meant "almost" or "not quite," he contradicted himself; for "not quite 1420" could not very well have fallen within the eighth year following the coronation of Henry V. If by "ner" Lydgate meant "about," the inconsistency disappears; and the same may be said if he dated the eighth year from the accession of Henry V. (comp. Schick). Still, if he meant accession why did he say coronation? The only other explanation, granting that he did mean coronation, is that lines 3366 *et seq.* signify that the translation was completed shortly before the beginning of the legal year 1420, and that 1420 was, roughly speaking, the eighth year of Henry V.—the latter beginning only two weeks later than the former. In this case we might read, "It was nearly 1420—the eighth year of Henry V.—when this translation was completed."

The lines following V. 3378, however, were apparently written after May 21, 1420, the date of the Treaty of Troyes, when Henry V. was acknowledged the heir of Charles VI. and made regent of France. Furthermore, Lydgate says (V. 3419):

"For in his power sothly stondeþ al,
And alliaunce of þe blod royal,
þat is knet vp by bonde of mariage. . . . 3421

26 × 15 inches) with unusually wide margins; ff. 155. Double columns, 49 lines to the full column. In the envoy (fol. 153 verso to the end of volume) the lines are arranged in stanzas as in all the *Troy Book* MSS. Illuminated initials and six borders and miniatures. Well written in a large clear hand, and, excepting occasional full stops, without marks of punctuation. Capital letters at beginning of lines. No running title or paragraph marks. Catchwords sometimes occur. The fore-edge of fol. 52 has been cut off, but without injury to the text; otherwise the manuscript is in perfect condition. Contains 30,111 lines, the following being omitted, and no blank spaces left for them: Book III. 1097 (fol. 74*d*), 3346–49 (fol. 86*b*), 3563 (fol. 87*c*). Transpositions: Book I. 3255, 56; Book II. 5716, 17; Book III. 2033, 34, 4315, 16; Book IV. 117, 118, 6969, 70; Book V. 2977, 78 are transposed with 2979, 80.

The miniatures occur at fols. 1*a*, 2**a*, 25*d*, 69*b*, 98*d*, and 135*a*. In the first (at the beginning of prologue) a monk kneels before a king and presents him with a book. It cannot, however, be argued on the strength of this miniature that C was the original presentation copy to Henry V., nor is it probable—considering its technique—that the picture of the monk, whether intended for a portrait or not, can be even an approximately correct likeness of Lydgate. (For further details see D 2.) Below the first miniature, in the centre of the initial “O,” are the arms of Sir Thomas Chaworth joined on one shield with those of Isabella de Ailesbury, his second wife. His first wife had died in 1411, and he himself died in 1458 (WARD). The second miniature represents king Peleus kneeling in prayer, and is, on the whole, very similar to the corresponding picture in D 2, of which a description is given in the next section. The third is a view

And I hope hir [Catherine's] gracious arryvaile	3429
In-to pis lond shal so moche availle. . . .	
Sothly al pis I hope 3e shal sen	3439
Come in-to lond <i>with pis noble quene</i>	

The marriage with Catherine took place on June 2, 1420. It is hard to tell whether the above lines were written before or after this event, although lines 3421 and 3440 may perhaps be considered to point to the latter alternative, in which case we may assume the entire work to have been completed in the early summer. If written before Catherine's marriage, the date of the completion of the *Troy Book* (including the “epilogue” and envoy) might have fallen between the last week in May and the end of June 1420.

Professor Skeat (Letter to *The Academy*) conjectures that the *Troy Book* was completed in the latter part of 1420. But I fail to see the necessity for assuming that the concluding lines were so long in hand.

of Troy, surrounded by the tents of the besiegers, of whom a few are represented in the foreground. This miniature is inserted below line 202, Book II. (see note 1 on page i above). The fourth miniature is another view of Troy, with red and grey walls and towers, again surrounded by the tents of the besiegers. In the foreground are two mail-clad figures on white horses (Hector and Prothesilaus, comp. Book II. 8498 ff., or Hector and Patroclus, comp. Book III. 781 ff.), the former splitting the latter in two. To the left in the background, the Greek tents, and a more distant line of white tents surmounted by golden balls; other tents, some ornamented with red, some with blue, are in the immediate foreground. There is a narrow strip of deep blue sky at the top of the picture, and below the strip of sky, conventionalised trees in gold on a terra-cotta background. In the fifth miniature, the slain Hector is exhibited to the left on a pedestal. Five crowned figures (the Greeks in council) are represented under a tent in the foreground, and behind them Achilles lies swathed to the chin in white. The sixth miniature represents Priam in supplication before Achilles.

Orthographical peculiarities are the consistent use of *sch* for *sh* throughout Books I. and II. and half-way through Book III. (to about line 3000). Endings in *is*, *ys* are of constant occurrence, as well as *yd*, *id*, instead of *ed* (callyd, seuaryd, etc.) Occasional instances of participial endings in *it* and *et* are brethet I. 2347, fôrget I. 3218, avenget I. 4255, conselit (concealed) IV. 6739, etc. In pursuwet III. 3889 (3rd person sing. pres. ind.), the *h* evidently stuck fast in the scribe's pen, but flickerit III. 4179, is the 3rd person sing. preterite. We also have triste for trust, III. 4097, lustus for lustes, I. 2679, opunly I. 3176 (also opinly II. 1638), and were for wire (comp. D 2). *W* is occasionally used for *v* and *u*, as in weyn for veyn II. 1640, 3ewith II. 2883, demwre I. 1572. *Their* and *peir* for *her* occur only two or three times (in the latter part of the volume, IV. 3323 *their*, V. 3051 *per*).

Although some of these peculiarities do not occur throughout the entire volume, we have no reason for believing it to have been the work of more than one scribe. C is not only one of the oldest and best manuscripts of the *Troy Book*, but the most complete that has come down to us. It has therefore been chosen as the basis of the present edition.

2. D 2 = Digby 232.

Bodleian, Oxford. See MACRAY, *Codices Digbeiani*, p. 243; TANNER, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, p. 492; DIBDIN'S *Ames*, IV, 496 (the number of the MS. is incorrectly stated to be 233); WARTON-HAZLITT, III, 81; LEE, article 'Lydgate,' *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXXIV, 312, 315; SOMMER, *Caxton's Lefevre*, I, xlii; BRANDL, *Grundriss der germ. Philologie*, 1st ed., II, 687. Vellum; 1420-30. Ff. 157. Well written in double columns, 44 lines to the full column. Capital letters at beginning of lines and numerous paragraph marks in blue or gold with red and purple flourishes. No running title; occasional catchwords. Imperfect; 14 fols. missing; except for a few rubbed leaves, otherwise in excellent condition. Ornamented with five miniatures (at beginning of prologue and first four books) and seven illuminated borders and initials. In subject and technique the miniatures are very similar to those of C, and may have been the work of the same craftsman. The first (fol. 1a, at the beginning of the prologue) represents a kneeling monk in black giving a book to a king,—a young man robed in blue and ermine, with red gauntlet-like gloves, hanging loose at the wrists;—two figures, one in green with fur trimmings, red sleeves, and hose, holding a sword, the other, also in green, wearing a belt hung with bells, stand respectively at the king's right hand and behind the throne, canopied in red. At the end of the prologue, "Explicit prologus" in red. In the miniature at the beginning of Book I. a white-bearded king (Peleus), in a long blue robe with ermine lining, stands facing to the right, with hands clasped in the conventional attitude of prayer, before a tree. The branches are rudely drawn, and there are specks of red dotted amongst the solid green foliage. Behind the king, ten or a dozen of his dead subjects are lying, dressed in red, blue, and green; and from a blot of red above their heads, the pestilence, represented by red and blue streaks, is falling down upon them. In front of the king at his feet strange-looking black and red ants with many legs are crawling about, and above them his new subjects—the "Mirundones"—arise beneath a golden cloud, from which golden rays are emanating. "Explicit liber primus" in red. Book II. begins with an illuminated border at fol. 28 verso. At fol. 29 verso there is another illuminated border, and the miniature also is inserted here (below line 202). It represents Troy, with pink walls manned by steel-clad warriors, most of whom are stuck

with arrows after the manner of St. Sebastian, and bleeding from many wounds. In the foreground a monk dressed in red kneels, offering a book to a crowned figure in armour,—a variation no doubt of the theme of the first miniature. A bowman aims at the walls of Troy. To the left are the red, blue, and green tents of the Greeks, with warriors in armour standing by. It need hardly be said that Troy is drawn to represent a medieval fortress, and with small respect for the rules of perspective. In the miniature to Book III. (fol. 78 recto) Troy is again represented in the background, with embattled walls of green, over which the defenders are peering at the enemy. In the foreground are men in armour bearing spears and axes, representing the troops of the two hostile armies; and two crowned horsemen with red and white plumes are opposing one another on a plain covered with conventionalised herbage, the one driving a spear into the other's breast. They are probably intended to represent Hector and Prothesilaus or Hector and Patroclus, although swords and not spears are the weapons mentioned in the text (comp. Book II. 8498, etc., III. 782–86). To the left in the background are tents of red and green, and men in armour. The sky is red, with decorations in gold. The miniature to Book IV. (fol. 110 recto) represents the slain Hector in armour, with a four-pronged crown on his head, lying on a bier draped with red cloth. Three kneeling figures are in the foreground, one wearing a green garment lined with ermine (Priam) in attitude of prayer, and another in crown and blue robe—perhaps Paris—kneeling on one knee, his brow resting on his right hand. In the background are several figures in armour, with their hands clasped in prayer. To the right stands the Palladium, a golden figure bearing shield and spear, on a white pedestal before a screen of gold. At Book V. there is an illuminated border and initial, but no miniature.

At fol. 1 top margin is the inscription, “vindica te’ tibi / Kenelme Digby.” At the bottom of the same fol. a coat of arms (argent, a chevron sable between three tuns) borne by the Vintners’ Company and granted to them in 1442 (MACRAY),—unquestionably a later insertion. At fol. 66 *b* occurs the name “Charles Vsagnus” (?). At fol. 105 *b* are scribbled some trifling lines beginning with the successive letters of the alphabet from *A* to *S*, partly cut away by the binder: “*A*: amonge you all: *B*: bothe greate [and] smalle: *C*: concyder what I[s] fayr: *D*: dothe not gode w[ith] oute recorde (?): ff: for synners still to pray.” . . . etc. At fol. 151 *b* is written

Jacobus et [indecipherable], and at fol. 157 *b* occurs the inscription, "Edward Atkinson, his booke 1605."

The manuscript contains 27,498 lines, the following being omitted: I. 1425-26, 1703, 4207-12; II. 2820, 2929-42, 6643-44; III. 18, 87-88, 1583-86, 2701-46, 3447-3506, 5276; IV. 2563-70, 3823, 6445-48; V. 397-924 (3 fols. missing between ff. 152 and 153), 1277-3212 (11 fols. missing between ff. 154 and 155), 3263-64.

The following lines are transposed, misplaced, or repeated: I. 662 misplaced at bottom of column, 4139, 40 transposed; II. 209, 10 transposed, 2184, 85 repeated, 2819 repeated, excepting the last word "guyde" (in place of 2820), 3067-78 repeated (different spellings, "counsayl" and "counseill," "seel" and "zeel," "there" and "pere"), 7524 misplaced; III. 1587, 2163 misplaced, 2165, 66 repeated after 2167, 4493 repeated, 4831-36 inserted after 4823 and subsequently repeated in their proper order; IV. 2081, 82 transposed, 3821 repeated, 5501, 2, 5719, 20 transposed.

Among the more important orthographical peculiarities are the occasional use of *e* for *y*, and vice versâ, and frequent endings in *is*, *ys*, *ith*, *yth*, etc. (comp. C). We occasionally find a *y* for *I* (personal pronoun). The scribe also has a preference for doubling the letter *f* (lyffre, aboffe), and frequently prefixes an *h* to words beginning with a vowel: hable (II. 981), habounde (II. 2390), hernest (II. 4506), harwe (III. 3038), hook (oak, IV. 4178), etc. *Th* and *p* are both used, also the character *ȝ*; the latter, however, is often interchanged with *gh*, as in *ȝorgh* (*ȝoruȝ*, C). A trace of the Kentish *e* is perhaps to be found in *kende* (*kynde*), but the latter form is more usual. Kingdom is spelled *kyndham*, as a rule, and there is an inclination—also to be met with in C—to employ *a* for *e* in *espie*, etc. Were (doubt), wire, and wile are often spelled *wher*, *wher*, and *while*. At II. 6064 we have *payr* (their). On the whole, the orthography is not unlike that of C.

For some unknown reason, possibly on the strength of the decorations, which cannot however be considered of exceptional magnificence, and the miniatures in which a monk is pictured in the act of presenting a book to a king, TANNER believed D 2 to be the presentation copy: "MS. Digby 232. *fuit, ut videtur, codex ab autore regi datus pulchre illuminatus, in primo folio monachum regi librum dantem representans*" (p. 492). WARTON, following in Tanner's footsteps, says, "From the splendour of the decorations, it

appears to be the copy which Lydgate gave to Henry V."¹ (Hazlitt's ed. III, p. 81). In DIBDIN'S *Ames* we read that "Digby 233 (*sic*) was probably the identical one presented by Lydgate" (IV, 496); BRANDL, referring to Warton, states that "*Die Widmungskopie für Heinrich V. liegt auf der Bodleiana*,"—*Grundriss der germ. Philologie*, 1893, II, 687; and finally, SOMMER: "The MS. Digby 232 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, to conclude from its elaborate get-up and the miniatures, appears to be the presentation copy,"—*Caxton's Lefevre*, I, xlii. As a matter of fact, D 2 has no greater claim to be considered the presentation copy than C. Not only does the text appear to be somewhat later, but, like C, the volume was apparently in other hands at an early date. Moreover, the decorations of the two MSS. are approximately alike, and C is even more sumptuous by reason of its great size and splendid wide margins. There could not very well have been two presentation copies.

The evidence furnished by the miniature in which a monk presents a book to a king is also of small value, not only because C, T, Cr, and numerous other Lydgate MSS.² are ornamented with similar representations, but also for the reason that the presentation of a book to a patron appears not to have been a rare subject for book-illustration in the Middle Ages. It may also be said that, in the case of the *Troy Book*, the miniature in question is entirely consistent with the circumstances in which the work was undertaken; namely, at the request of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V., to whom a copy was obviously presented.

¹ "But the manuscript does not as a whole merit the description given by Warton" . . . (Macray, *Codices Digbeiani*, p. 243).

² "Seven miniature portraits, appearing in illuminated manuscripts of Lydgate's works, have been identified with the poet, (1) in Harl. MS. 4826, 'Secreta Secretorum,' an old man dressed in the black habit of the Benedictines, presenting a poem called the 'Pilgrim' (*i. e.* 'Pilgrimage of Man') to Thomas Montacute, earl of Salisbury; (2) in Harl. MS. 2278, 1, 'Life of St. Edmund,' the poet presenting his work at St. Edmund's shrine to Henry VI. in presence of William Curteis, abbot of Bury; (3) Arundel MS. 119, f. 1, 'Thebes,' in the first initial, figure of a black monk on horseback; (4) in Aug. A. iv. 'Troy Book'; (5) in Harl. MS. 1766, 3, 'Fall of Princes'; (6) in Bodl. MS. Digby, 232, 'Troy Book'; (7) in Ashmole MS. 46, 'Secreta Secretorum,' author presenting book to the king (defaced)."—Lee, article 'Lydgate,' *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXXIV, pp. 315-16. To these may be added: (8) Trinity Coll. MS. O. 5. 2; (9) Crawford-Rylands MS.; and (10) the miniature to Book II. in Digby 232—for it is probable that the kneeling monk in red is intended for Lydgate. The value of these various representations as portraits, most, if not all of which, are comparable only to rude thumb-nail sketches, cannot be very great. Those in the *Troy Book* MSS. certainly do not bear any very striking resemblance to one another. There are also woodcut "portraits" in Pynson's *Troy Book* (1513) and *Falls of Princes* (1527), etc.

Slightly later (?) than C, and approximately of the same date as Arundel 99 (comp. next section), D 2 is one of the oldest and best of the *Troy Book* manuscripts. It has therefore been collated throughout with the text of C.

3. A = Arundel 99.

British Museum. See WARD, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, pp. 80–81; ROSSETTI, *Chaucer's Troylus and Cryseyde compared with Boccaccio's Filostrato*, 1883 (lines 4188–4264 of Book III., fol. 96, quoted at pp. x, xi); SOMMER, *Caxton's Lefevre*, I, xlii, note. Vellum, 1420–30. Large folio; ff. 159. Double columns, 46 lines to the full column. Well written in a rather small hand; slanting lines indicate the caesuras (frequently incorrectly), otherwise without punctuation. Lines usually begin with capital letters. Running title in red, giving number of book, etc. No catchwords. Numerous paragraph marks in red, blue, gold, and other colours. With illuminated initials and floriated borders in blue, green, gold, and red at the beginning of each book, but no miniatures. The general style of the decoration as well as of the handwriting is very different from that of C and D 2. Rubricated “Explicits” and “Incipits.” The volume begins with the prologue, fol. 1; the leaf containing the beginning of Book I. is missing (between fols. 2 and 3). Book II. begins at fol. 26 recto; III., fol. 73 recto; IV., fol. 104 verso; V., fol. 143 verso, ending with line 3006 at fol. 159 *d*. Imperfect, containing 29,221 lines. The following are omitted or lost: 369 (prologue)—I. 162 (one fol. missing), I. 3331–32, II. 4360–61, IV. 2004 (blank space left), V. 3007 to end (four or five fols. lost). The following lines are transposed or misplaced (at bottom of column): II. 1431, 32 transposed, 6746 and 7154 misplaced, IV. 6409, 10 transposed. There is some unimportant scribbling in a later hand on the margin of fol. 34 recto, “The lorde be thanked for his giftes,” etc., and also on the last fol.

There are no marked orthographical or dialectical peculiarities, although traces of the Suffolk endings in *is*, *ys*, etc. are occasionally to be met with. Rarely we have *wh* for *h* as in *whoom* (home), III. 5234. *Th* is used for *þ* and *y* for *ȝ*; the *f*'s and *h*'s are ornamented with little hooks, and the *h*'s are generally crossed. The text of A is excellent, and if slightly later than C, approximately of the same date as D 2. The volume has, therefore, like D 2, been collated throughout with C.

4. R 1 = Royal 18. D. ii.

British Museum. See TANNER, p. 490; WARTON, III, 269; RITSON, p. 77; DYCE's *Skelton*, I, x. and 6; HALLIWELL, *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, 1840, p. vii; WARD, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 81-82; SCHICK, *Temple of Glas*, pp. xcv, cix, etc.; LEE, article 'Lydgate,' *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXXIV, 308 b, 312 a; SOMMER, *Caxton's Lefevre*, I, xlii, note; TRIGGS, *Assembly of Gods*, p. viii. Vellum; folio. A composite MS., fols. 6-162, comprising the original volume, date back to about 1460 (WARD); but in view of the excellence of the text of the *Troy Book*, I should be tempted to set the date even earlier. The first five leaves and all following fol. 162 were added early in the 16th century (about 1520, WARD). Fols. 6-162 contain the *Troy Book* and *Story of Thebes*, the former extending from 6 recto to the fol. marked 150 (fol. 146 recto according to the present state of the MS.). Well written, in double columns, 40 to 52 lines to the full column. With one border and illuminated initials and twelve miniatures, of which six occur at the beginning of prologue and the five books (fols. 6 recto, 8 recto, 30 verso, 67 verso, 97 recto, 132 recto). The other six miniatures are to be found at fols. 75 and 76 recto (transposed with fols. 127 and 128, see *infra*), 83 verso, 88 recto, 95 recto, and 110 verso (two). According to WARD, the four miniatures last mentioned were inserted by a Flemish artist at a later period.¹ The first miniature represents William Herbert, 1st earl of Pembroke, who died in 1469, and Anne Devereux, his second wife, in robes bearing their respective arms, kneeling before the king; in the column below this the same arms are inserted, in shields, with the mottoes, "Elas sy longment" and "Ce toute," and these mottoes are repeated several times on a band running round three sides of the border (WARD). There are also smaller illuminated initials and rubricated chapter headings. The lines begin with capital letters, sometimes decorated with touches of red. Catchwords are rare, and there is no running title. The miniatures are remarkable for their freshness and brilliance of colour, and represent, on the whole, subjects very similar to those in C and D 2. At the beginning of Book II. (fol. 30 c) there is a picture of Fortuna's wheel (comp. Cr), to which figures are clinging in various attitudes, and at fol. 67 c (Book III.), Hector is represented cutting Prothesilaus in two.

¹ At fols. 89, 93 and 108 according to present state of MS.

The *Troy Book* begins at fol. 6 *a* with the prologue; Book I. begins at fol. 8 *a*; II. at fol. 30 *c*; III. at 67 *c*; IV. at 97 *a*; and V. at 132 *b*.

The MS. is imperfect, containing about 29,000 lines; for, in addition to the inevitable minor omissions, two leaves are missing between fols. 65 and 66 (numbered 67), containing lines 8295–8612 of Book II. Fol. 93 has also been lost (it should follow the fol. numbered 94), bearing with it lines 5223–5396 of Book III.; and between fols. 115 and 116 (numbered 117 and 120), two leaves are gone together with lines 4206–4578 of Book IV.

Fols. 70 and 71 (numbered 71 and 72), containing lines 697–1092 of Book III., are transposed with fols. 119 and 120 (numbered 123 and 124), which represent four pages of Book IV., beginning with line 5195; and fols. 74 and 75 (numbered 75 and 76), representing lines 1491–1892 of Book III., are transposed with fols. 123 and 124 (numbered 127 and 128), containing lines 6015–6412 of Book IV.

The volume contains, according to a table of contents in a 17th century hand on the first leaf :

Ihon Lydgates testament.¹

The siege of Troy & Thebes translated out of Bocass by the same Lyd.

A merrie Conceit of his declaring how he adioyned the siege of Thebes to Cantarburie tales.

Withm Vornish² [*sic*] alias Nishweet his treatiss betwene truth and enformation. And his Parable betwene information & Musique. At the time of his being in the fleet a^o regni Henrici. 7^{ti} 29th.

Skeltons Elegies vpon the Death of the Earle of Northumberland.³

The Discord betwixt Reason and Sensualytie [Assembly of Gods] written by Ihon Lydgate.⁴

The Names Natures and Places of buriall of all the kings of England frō Willm Conquerour to K. Henry : 8th.

¹ Printed in Halliwell, *Lydgate's Minor Poems*.

² Comp. Ritson, p. 53. Cornishe's *Treatise between Truth and Information* and the *Proverbs* of Lekenfield and Wressell have been printed by Flügel in *Anglia*, XIV, p. 466 ff.; the Wressell proverbs are also to be found in part in the 2nd ed. of the *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1807, IV, 411–421 (Warton, III, 269).

³ Printed in Dyce's *Skelton*, I, p. 6 *et seq.*

⁴ Ed. Triggs, E. E. T. S., 1896.

The Armes of all the Christian Kings blazoned.

The Discente of the Lo. Percies, compiled by Wiſhm Peres
Secretary to Henry 5th earle Northumb.¹

Proverbs in the Lodgings at Lekinfeild.

The Councell of Aristotle to Alexander.

Proverbs in the Lodgings at Wresill.

The Counsell of Aristotle to Alexandre in the said place.

At the beginning of the volume occurs the signature, "Kateryne eggecombe," who may have been the Catherine who was left widow by Sir Piers Edgecomb in 1539, and who died herself in 1553 (WARD). The signature of John, Lord Lumley, also occurs on the same page. There are no noteworthy peculiarities of orthography or language. The Scandinavian forms *them* and *their* are employed rarely if at all. King is frequently spelled with an *e* (kenge), and endings in *i*, *y* are common. Both *p* and *th* are used,—also *g* and *y* in place of *3*. The caesuras are sometimes indicated by dots. Although inferior to the preceding MSS., the text of R 1 is nevertheless of decided excellence, and must have been derived from a very early copy.

5. T = *Trinity O. 5. 2.*

Trinity College, Cambridge. See WRIGHT, *Generydes*, E.E.T.S., 1878, preface; SKEAT, *Specimens* (1394–1579), p. 23; JAMES, *The Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, III, 1902, pp. 298–300. Vellum; about 1440–50. Large folio, ff. 211. A composite volume, consisting of *Generydes*, ff. 1–37, which originally formed part of another book (comp. WRIGHT, p. vi), and the *Troy Book* and *Story of Thebes*, the former extending from fol. 38*a* through fol. 190, and the latter from 191*a* to the end of the volume. Well written in a rather small hand in double columns, 48 lines to the full column. No running title or catch-words; the lines begin with capital letters. With illuminated borders, initials, and miniatures at the beginning of the prologue and of each book, excepting II., where the leaf containing the miniature, border, and lines 152–328 has been cut out (between fols. 63 and 64). Cannot contain more than about 29,300 lines, for in addition to the above fol., two leaves are missing between fols. 171 and 172, together with lines 6643–7027 of Book IV., and one leaf between fols. 186 and 187, containing lines 2758–2977 of Book V.

¹ For further details see Ward.

The margins are further decorated with numerous coats of arms in gold and colours, for the most part of the Thwaites and Knevet families in various combinations. At the end of the *Troy Book*, fol. 190 *d*, occurs the inscription "Antonius Thwaites me possidet." The signatures "Henry Thwaites" and "Henry Thwayts" occur at the end of the *Story of Thebes*. According to WRIGHT, *Generydes*, preface: "Anthony Thwaites may have been the son or descendant of John Thwaites of Hardingham, Norfolk, who married Anne, daughter of Sir William Knevet, and died 22 Henry VII. [1507], leaving a son Anthony (Blomefield's *Norfolk*, V. 1198, folio ed.)." Mr. Wright also says that, "as the Thwaites arms do not appear in the first part, which contains the story of Generydes, whereas the Knevet arms are of frequent occurrence, it is possible that this may have belonged originally to the Knevet family, and may have been bound up with the Lidgate portion after the above-mentioned marriage of John Thwaites with Anne Knevet." The other arms have not yet been identified.

In the first miniature, fol. 38 *a*, a kneeling monk presents a book to a king, robed in blue, and seated on a throne under a canopy, with attendants standing by (comp. C, D 2, and Cr). The miniature at the beginning of Book I., fol. 40 *a*, represents Peleus in ermine and blue, kneeling in prayer before a tree; behind him are his dead subjects, and in the foreground are two new ones, who have evidently just been transformed from ants into men. To the left is a red figure with a flaming sword, personifying the pestilence, and to the right a hand emanates from a cloud. In the background a castle, trees, etc. For the other miniatures, which occur at fols. 107 verso, 137 verso, and 172 recto (at the beginning of Books III., IV., and V.) see the description in JAMES, p. 300.

The handwriting is very similar throughout the *Troy Book* and *Story of Thebes*, and both may have been the work of the same scribe. *Generydes* is also written in a hand closely resembling the others, but belongs to a somewhat later period. Examples of orthographical peculiarities are whoys (whose), heard (hard), about (about), doughtles (doubtless), thoow (though), hough (how), trougth (truth), conteune (continue), wull (will). Also leche (like), aleche, reche (rich), mende (mind)—perhaps pointing to Kentish influence. The Scandinavian forms *them* and *their* are of frequent occurrence.

Although somewhat inferior to R 1, T is much better than the

later MSS. to be described in the following sections. To recapitulate : the three oldest and best texts are C, D 2, and A, all of which were written before 1430 ; then follow R 1 and T, dating from about the middle of the century, and having their sources in excellent copies. The remaining seven MSS. all date from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

6. D 1 = Digby 230.

Bodleian, Oxford. See MACRAY, *Codices Digbeiani*, p. 242 ; TANNER, pp. 489, 492 ; RITSON, p. 71. Vellum ; late fifteenth century, 1470 (?). Large folio, ff. 223 + 1 blank leaf, of which the outside half has been cut off. Ff. 1-27 contain the *Story of Thebes* (incomplete, beginning with line 23 from the end of the prologue : "Fully in purpos to come vnto dinere"). At fol. 27*d* occurs the rubric, "Here endith the sege of Thebes : | And bigynneth the Sege of Troye." The *Troy Book* extends from fol. 28*a* through 194*d*, and is quite complete, save for the loss of one fol. between 27 and 28, containing the first 163 lines of the prologue. At fol. 195*a*, the "Sege of Ierusalem"¹ begins, and continues to the end of the volume. The *Troy Book* is written in a large, clear hand in double columns, 45 lines to the full column. The lines begin with capital letters ; no running title or catchwords. Large illuminated initials and borders at the beginning of each book (excepting V., where the initial has been cut out) and small initials at the beginning of paragraphs. Fol. 58 recto is badly rubbed, and some of the letters appear to have been restored later. The prologue ends at fol. 29 with the rubric, "Explicit prologus" ; Book I. begins at fol. 29*b* and ends with the rubric, "Explicit · liber · primus." Book II. extends from fol. 54*a* to 102*a*, and ends with the rubric, "here endith the secunde booke of þe Sege" ; Book III. begins at fol. 102*b*, Book IV. at 134*c*, and Book V. at 174*a*. At the end of the volume (fol. 223 verso) occurs the following rubric :²

¹ A 14th century poem of 5182 lines in octosyllabic couplets, edited by J. A. Herbert (Titus and Vespasian or the Destruction of Jerusalem, Roxburghe Club, London, 1905) from Add. MS. 36523 collated with MSS. Add. 10036, Harl. 4733, Laud. Misc. 622, and Digby 230. Other MSS. are Add. 36983 and Magdalene 2014 ; the latter (containing about $\frac{3}{5}$ of the poem) printed by R. Fischer in Herrig's Archiv, cxi, 1903, p. 285 ff., and cxii, 1904, p. 25 ff. MS. Douce 78 is a later version. See also F. Bergau, *Untersuchungen über Quelle und Verfasser des me. Reimgedichts 'The vengeance of goddes deth'* (dissertation), Königsberg, 1901.

² Comp. Cr and J.

[H]ere¹ endith the Sege of Ierusalem.

Pees makith Plente	} And therefore
Plente makith Pride	
Pride makith Plee	
Plee makith Pouert	
Pouert makith Pees. ²	

[in black] Grace growith aftir gouernaunce.

The *Troy Book* is not only carelessly written, but was evidently copied from a comparatively late MS. In addition to numerous minor blunders, it has the following omissions, insertions of spurious lines and half-lines (to fill up gaps due to the defective original), gratuitous insertions on the part of the scribe, repetitions, and transpositions :

¹ Initial cut out.

² The above formula is not infrequently to be met with in the literature of the period. Lydgate himself expanded it into three 7-line stanzas in his *Horse, Goose, and Sheep* (ed. Degenhart, Munich and Leipzig, 1900, pp. 70-71), in a note to which the editor points out that a similar idea is used as the theme of *Histrionastix*, a 16th century drama (ed. Simpson, *School of Shakespeare*, II. p. 3 ff.). Parallel passages are given by Simpson from Marot, Lodge's *Fig for Momus*, and Puttenham's *Art of Poesie** (ed. Arber, p. 217), who attributes the formula to Jean de Meung. Dr. Degenhart also cites Chr. Landino Fiorentino's Dante Commentary, Venice, 1529, fol. xlii recto† (Inferno, VII. 73) and J. Sandford, *Hours of Recreation*, 1576, p. 179, who obtained the formula from Landino. Professor Schick tells me that similar lines are to be found in Chastellain's mystery *Le Concile de Basle* (about 1433, see *Oeuvres*, ed. de Lettenhove, VI, p. 46)‡ cited by Dr. Fritz Holl in his *Politische und religiöse Tendenzdrama des 16. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich*, Erlangen und Leipzig, 1903, p. 18,—and that the same formula is alluded to by Swift in a note to the *Battle of the Books* (*Prose Works*, ed. Temple Scott, I. 161), who refers in turn to "Ephem. de Mary Clarke; opt. edit."

* Peace makes plentie, plentie makes pride,
Pride breeds quarrel, and quarrel brings warre :
War brings spoil, and spoil poverty,
Poverty patience, and patience peace ;
So peace brings war, and war brings peace.

† Oueramente uolge sua spera: perche la fortuna e la influentia laquale procede dalla reuolutione de cieli. Et inuero gira questa ruota. Imperoche la ricchezza fa superbia: la superbia impatientia: la impatientia guerra: la guerra pouerta: la pouerta humilta: la humilta patientia: la patientia pace: la pace ricchezza.

‡ De paix naist richesse sur terre,
De richesse orgueil, d'orgueil guerre,
De guerre vient povreté,
De povreté humilité,
Mais d'humilité revient paix.—

Preceded by a Latin version:—

Ex pace diuitiae, ex diuitiis
Superbia, ex superbia guerra,
Ex guerra paupertas, ex
Paupertate humilitas, ex humilitate
Pax.

Book I. 191-194 omitted through carelessness (*i. e.*, not omitted in MSS. Cr and J, which were derived from the same source); 545-548 repeated (a mark and "vacat" on margin); after 1402 two lines: "fful benignely & in humble wise | As men may leren writen of the wise" are gratuitously inserted; after 1512 two more lines: "I shal rehearse þoruȝ my simplenesse | Howe Iason dide his knyȝtly besinnesse" are inserted; 1527 is omitted and replaced by: "ffor to wasshen & siȝen for to goon," which in turn is transposed with 1528; after 1800 two lines: "If þat ȝou liste a while ȝeue aduertence | Haue me excused I can noon elloquence," are gratuitously inserted; the second half of 2595 (omitted in the original) is replaced by "wiȝ al þe remenaunt"; in 2767, 68 the rhymyng words are "none : soone" instead of "tyme : pryme," and after 2768 are inserted: "And fonde a quarter was passed after prime | She gan rekene & knewe wel þe tyme;" 2884-2901 are repeated after 2901 ("vacat" written twice on the margin in a later hand); 3604 and 3608 are transposed and marked respectively *a* and *b*, a hand roughly drawn at 3612 points upwards, and "nota" is written on the margin.

Book II. 291, 92 are transposed; 3651-56 are omitted through carelessness; 4931 is omitted and replaced by: "And in his werkis passinge merveillous," transposed in turn with 4932; 5007-10 and 7302-3 are omitted; 7555, 56 are transposed; 8051 is omitted and replaced by: "And hem aparaile redy to fize"; 8362 is omitted.

Book III. 483, 84, 4011, 12, 5671, 72 are transposed; 1638 is transposed with 1646; 4536-42 are repeated; 2325, 26 are as follows: "For to gouerne þe worlde come from euery cost | And namely of so worthy an oost." (The reading in J—probably the same as that of the original—is a combination of 2325 and 2326: "For to gouerne: þe world com from euery cost," the following line being omitted. Thus the copyist of D 1 supplied the missing line, as was his wont, from his own imagination.) 2978 is omitted (excepting the last two words) and replaced by: "From his hors bak caste vp-on þe grene"; 2998 is omitted and replaced by: "And the soille of here bloode rizt wete"; the same applies to 3036: "Hym of man-hood so moche to anaunce," and to 4011: "ȝou wilt assente to this conclusioun" (transposed with 4012, the lines being marked respectively *b* and *a*); 4887 is omitted and supplied as follows: "And þei anoon with-oute lettyng" (in the original MS. 4887, 88 were evidently combined into one line: "For xxx^{ti} dayes grauntede hys axynge," J); and the same may be said of 4915, 16, also combined

into: "Or a schewynge: a warnynge by myracle," the consequent omission being supplied in D1 by, "Or a demonstracioun by oracle."

Book IV. 1532, 2027-28, 2193-97, 6984 are omitted, 2715 is misplaced after 2718, and 6661, 62 are transposed. 1806 is expanded into three lines: "Wheþer 3e liste vs to save or spille | And þanne anon Achilles þe hardy | Hem answered sterne & boldely"—the middle line is the 1806 of D 1's original. 2959 is omitted excepting the first two words: "Myn auctor," the remaining portion being supplied by: "telliþ eche with opir dide fȳt"; 5633 is also omitted, excepting the first two words: "Hir shilde," and is replaced by: "wiche is verre celestial."

Book V. The second halves of lines 132-139 are missing on account of the illuminated initial at the beginning of the book having been cut out; 738, 39 are repeated after 744; 1395, 98 are repeated; 2497, 98 are transposed; and after 2157 two lines are inserted gratuitously as follows, and marked with little crosses: "Thoruz Grece exaumples of wommanhede | And ȝit was she withouten ony drede." The copyist of D 1 has thus shown himself to have been scarcely more successful in his emendations and supplies to missing lines, than in his purely gratuitous contributions to the text, and altogether has proved himself to be a worthy successor of Chaucer's Adam. As further instances of corruption, lines 743 and 1167 of Book I. may be cited: "And baped hem & fresshid hem in the fressh riuer" (And bathe & wassche hem in þe fresche ryuer, C) and "But litel rewarde ȝeve þer-of and we þat day abide" (But lytel reward and we þat day abide, C)—containing respectively 13 and 14 syllables. After such exhibitions of "neelygence and rape" it is not difficult to imagine how it is that Lydgate's metrical ability has so often been called into question.

There is considerable scribbling on the margins, especially in the first part of the *Troy Book*; thus, the word "Pelleus," I. 91, is marked by two horizontal lines and "Pater acillis" is written in the margin; at lines 94, 109, and 147 "Tedite," "Eson," and "Iason" are noted respectively as "mater acillis," "frater Pillei," and "filius esonis." Numerous passages have been marked in evident approval by some unknown reader, occasionally with a roughly-drawn hand pointing to them; often the word "nota" is written in the margin. Among such passages are I. 1837-1909, 1939-40, 2016-2135, 2087-90, 2197, which have chiefly to do with Guido's satire on women

and Lydgate's feigned indignation, 2602-46, a description of summer, and 3507-12, where the common people are spoken of as being "flaskysable" as the moon. Further, I. 3467-83, 3623-24, 3628-44; II. 82, 1824-26; III. 2342-46, 3612-67, 4276-4447 (4315-16 enclosed within a rectangle; the whole passage has to do with Troilus and Cressida), 5361-66; IV. 132-149, 300-309, 1534-54, 1869-82, 3690-95, 4503-32, 4986-96; V. 630-35, 1011-35, 2808-13. All this is interesting enough as an index to the portions of the *Troy Book* which were considered most worthy of interest or admiration by its 15th and 16th century readers. On the whole, their taste probably differed very little from ours; only they had fewer books and were more easily pleased.

In the top margin of fol. 39 *b* is the inscription: "The trwyffe of wemenne quod Fynderne"; at fol. 171 *c*, the words "Dethe of Pollicene"; at fol. 191 verso is the signature, "Jerget Brabason," and "Roger Brabason" at fol. 192. On the unnumbered half-leaf at the end of the volume, recto, is the signature and inscription: "Fran: | Richarde | If happ helpe not | Hope is hindered," also the signature, "WiHame Gresley." On the same leaf, verso, "to deith endurit," and a signature which looks like "C. Nyston" (?).

There are no noteworthy orthographical or dialectical peculiarities.

7. Cr. = *The Troy Book MS. formerly in the possession of the Earl of Crawford, now in the John Rylands Library at Manchester.*

Vellum; of approximately the same date as D 1. Large folio; ff. 174, numbered in eights: a to x + 2 leaves, the one ornamented with the arms of the Langton (?) family, and the other blank. Well written in a large, clear hand in double columns; from 43 to 47 lines to the full column. The caesuras are indicated by two slanting lines, and the letters are frequently ornamented with little hooks and flourishes. No running title; catchwords the exception. The lines begin with capital letters. Illuminated initials and borders and large miniatures (some of them covering half the page) at the beginning of the prologue and of each book, and smaller initials and miniatures at the beginning of each paragraph or chapter. The illuminated borders are beautifully done in red, blue, green, and gold, touched with white, and closely resemble those of D 1. The miniatures are of unusual magnificence, and number 69, including the large coat of arms at fol. 173 recto. At fol. a i the following rubric occurs beneath a miniature in which a monk is

pictured in the act of presenting a book to a king (comp. C, D 2, and T):

“Here begynneth the boke of the sege of Troye. compiled by Daun Iohn Lydgate Monke of Bery | atte excitacioun and steryng of the moost noble worthi and myghty Prynce Kyng | Henry the fyfthe. ffirst rehersyng the conquest of the golden flees acheued by the | manly prowesse of Iason. Vnder the correccioun of euery prudent reder :+ :”

At the end of the *Troy Book* occurs the same inscription (in black) to the effect that “Pees makith plente,” etc., which has already been described under D 1 (comp. J).

A large miniature, covering half the page at the beginning of Book II., d iiii verso, represents Fortune, robed in ermine and red, holding her golden wheel. Crowned figures are standing at the left, with hands uplifted in supplication; others are holding fast to the wheel, while to the right those whom fortune has not favoured are being thrown headlong to the ground. At fol. d v verso, is a most interesting representation of a soldier in plate armour, aiming a cannon (apparently of wood and bound with hoops) at the walls of Troy. Red tongues of flame are issuing from the muzzle, on all sides of a large stone ball, pictured at the very moment of emerging. The city of Troy resembles a medieval fortress, surrounded by a moat; and two faces—each as large as a tower—are peering out over the embattled walls. At fol. f ii there is a large miniature of the vision of Paris: Mercury, winged and clad in feathers, reed in mouth and caduceus in hand, appears before the sleeping Paris, above whose head are represented a cock and an owl. Minerva is in full armour, and bears a spear and golden shield; Juno is attired in flowing red robes and a towering 15th century head-dress—she holds a sceptre in her hand, and is attended by a peacock; Venus appears—true to Lydgate’s description—on a billowy sea in the background, her head surrounded by white doves. A huge golden apple stands on a sort of trestle or table. At the lower part of the same miniature is a hunting scene, in which Paris is represented in the act of aiming an arrow at a wounded stag, pursued by dogs. In the distance are castles, fortresses, and ships, surrounding Venus, who is again standing on the “wawy” sea. In the miniature at the beginning of Book III., fol. k vi verso, Hector, clad in golden armour, is pictured cutting Prothesilaus (or Patroclus) in two; both figures are mounted, and Hector’s horse is ornamented with green

and red trappings. The horse of his opponent is less gorgeously decorated. In the foreground a warrior in armour and green robe (according to the inscription, "Rex Merioun") has just placed his foot in the stirrup. His horse is gaily caparisoned in green and red. Near by are the tents of the Greeks, filled with armed men, and Troy appears to the right in the distance. At fol. o v verso, Benedictine monks, accompanied by nuns, are bearing the coffin of Hector, pallied in black, to the doors of a Gothic cathedral. At fol. o viii recto, Achilles, bleeding from many wounds, and represented as an old man with a white beard and a crown on his head, lies on a bed at the opening of his tent, surrounded by myrmidons.

A clipping, perhaps from the catalogue of the Perkins sale, at which this manuscript was sold many years ago (comp. *The Times*, Sept. 2, 1901), has been pasted inside the cover of the Douce copy of the 1513 print of the *Troy Book*, now in the Bodleian Library. Here it is stated among other things that, "This is unquestionably one of the most splendid and interesting ancient English manuscripts in existence" . . . it "has been supposed to be the identical manuscript presented by Lydgate to King Henry V. (*sic*). The painting on the first page appears to be an authentic portrait of our Old English Bard. It is ascertained from some manuscript entries upon the vellum fly-leaves [last fol.], that this volume was long in the possession of the Mundy family. One of these is, 'I John Mundy knight have yevyn to my Welbelovyd Son Vyncent Mundy this prent [*read present* (?)] booke of the Seig of Troy the xxvth day of May A^o xxv notri Regis Henr. VIII. [1553] and delyered it to him w^h myne owne hands w^h Godss Blessyng and myne.' This inscription is now scarcely decipherable. Other entries on the last fol. are "Adryan Mundy," "Francys Mundy of Markeyton Esquire . September 18th 1615," "Soyes loyal a moy & je sera[i] loya[l] a vous," "Hugh Morgan de Moñmowth in the merchis of Walys."

There are no noteworthy peculiarities of dialect or orthography. Although there are a larger number of minor variations in Cr than in D 1, fewer lines are omitted through carelessness. In all other omissions of lines, however, the text agrees with D 1, as well as in the majority of the minor variations; so that it can safely be said that the two MSS. were derived from a common source. The Cr scribe, like the copyist of D 1, occasionally tries his hand at restoring lines omitted in their common original. Thus, for example, in

Book III. lines 2325–26 are as follows in Cr: “ffor to gouerne the lordes come from euery cost | For to be Kyng ne leder of suche an Oost.” The conjectural emendation of line 2978 is almost identical in Cr and D 1; the Cr reading is: “ffrom hors bak cast upon the grene”; but this is probably a mere coincidence, for Cr entirely omits 2998 (restored in D 1), and supplies: “And gyue hym shortly harde myschaunce” for 3036 (comp. D 1).

8. J = *St. John's College (Oxford) vi.*

See COXE, *Catalogue of Oxford MSS.*, 1852, II, pt. 6, p. 2; LEE, article ‘Lydgate,’ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* Vellum; of approximately the same date as D 1 and Cr. Folio, ff. 134. Well written, in a rather small hand, in double columns, 56 lines to the full column. The leaves are numbered A to R vii in eights. Folio A ii, containing the last 174 lines of the Prologue and the first 49 lines of Book I., is missing; otherwise the MS. is complete, and allowing for occasional omissions of single lines and couplets, for which blank spaces are frequently left, must contain upwards of 29,800 lines. There are large illuminated initials decorated in red, blue, and gold, and borders at the beginning of the prologue and of each book (excepting Book I., where the fol. is missing), and smaller initials in blue with red flourishes at the beginning of each paragraph. The lines do not always begin with capital letters, and catchwords seldom occur. There are running titles in red, consisting in the word *Prolog* and the number of each book in Latin, also conclusions at the ends of the books, sometimes in red, sometimes in black enclosed in red lines, as follows: “Here endith the firste booke : and now bigynneth the secounde,” “Explicit / liber . secundus . here endeth þe secunde book of þe sege of Troye vnder the correccioun : of euery prudent reder,” “Explicit liber tercius . here endeth the þridde book / of the thridde book [*sic*] of troye vnder the correccioun of euery prudent redere,” “hic liber quartus : explicit totalis et in mediate incipit liber quintus.” Book V. ends with a more elaborate rubric :

¶ Thus endeth þe fyfþe booke	}
¶ of þe seege of troye vnder	
¶ þe correccioun : of euery prudent	
¶ Reeder Quod. lydgate	
¶ Monke of þe Burye	

beneath which occurs the word “lenuoye” in red. Then follows the rubric, “Verba translatoris ad librum suum,” and at the bottom

of R vii a the rubric, "Pees makeþ plente," etc., already described under D 1. Book I. ends at fol. C vii c. The last three folios of Book II. are headed wrongly, "Tercius." Book III. begins at fol. H iiii d, Book IV. at L vi c, and Book V. at P vi b.

There are numerous rubricated chapter headings scattered through the MS., which, however, are quite different from those of the prints and R 1, and are plainly the work of the scribe. The first is on fol. A i:

"Here bigynneþ þe prolog of the seege of Troye in englisch / translated after the latyn compiled by Gwydo de Columpnis not word by word bote after the substaunce of the lettre with certeyn addicions of the translatour: vnder correccioun of euery prudent reder. The furste chapitre declareth al the manere of the conquest of the goldene flees by the manly prowesse of Iason acheuid by the prudent counseyl of Medea kynges doghter of Colco^s." Another, at fol. B ii d, reads: "how medea þe kynges doghter of colchos whos name was Cethees was sette to mete in gladyng and comfortyng of Iason the whuche was to hym cause of þe wynnyng of þe flees of gold: and to þe confusioun and destruccioun bothe of þe [kyng] and hyre."

The Leynthale arms are inserted in the initial at the beginning of the prologue, and at the bottom of fol. G iii recto occurs the inscription in a sixteenth century hand, "Jaffie bien Leynthale," followed by an indecipherable monogram. The names of persons mentioned in the text are frequently written on the margins in red,¹ sometimes accompanied by short explanatory notes, and evidently done by the original scribe. At fol. R v there are some trifling lines in red.

The text is decorated with numerous hooks and flourishes, the *y*'s are generally dotted and the *h*'s are often crossed. The caesuras are indicated by a sign which somewhat resembles a horizontal comma placed over a full-stop, and is often enclosed between two slanting lines; occasionally lines are met with containing two caesura signs.

Orthographical peculiarities are a predilection for doubling vowels, as in soo, woo, froo, reede, eest, cheere, deedly, rooche, cheef, pleyng, etc., and the frequent use of *u*, as in whuche, dude (also dyde), murthe (Southwest?). *Y* is employed largely throughout the MS., and endings in *is*, *ys* are common. The dialectical form *heo* (she) occurs in II. 65.

¹ At fols. R ii and iii some of the names in the text are in red.

Although the general style of J (handwriting, decorations, etc.) is quite different from that of D 1 and Cr, all three MSS. can nevertheless be traced back to one source, not only on account of the numerous minor variations which they share in common, but also for the reason that the lines and half-lines omitted in the original of D 1 and Cr (I. 2595 ; III. 2326, 2998, 3036, 4011, 4916 ; IV. 2959, 5633, etc.), for which the scribe of D 1 substituted lines of his own composition,¹ are also missing in J, where blank spaces are left for them marked by little crosses. Thus the three MSS. D 1, Cr, and J may be said to fall into a single group (see § 3 of the following section).

9. R 2 = Royal 18. D. vi.

British Museum. See TANNER, p. 490 ; WARD, *Catalogue of Romances*, I. 79-80 ; SOMMER, *Caxton's Lefevre*, I, xlii, note. Vellum ; about 1480. Large folio ; ff. 139. Hastily written in a large hand in double columns, 52 lines to the full column. No running title ; catchwords rarely occur. The lines begin with capital letters, decorated with touches of yellow. Small initials in gold with brown flourishes at the beginning of paragraphs. The manuscript was originally ornamented with large illuminated initials and borders at the beginning of the prologue and of each book, but of the initials only the one at the beginning of the prologue remains, the others having been cut out, including the entire leaf at Book II. (between fols. 114 and 115). Imperfect, containing about 28,000 lines. Eight or nine leaves are missing between fols. 19 and 20, fol. 19 *d* ending with I. 2906 and 20 *a* beginning with II. 115. Book III. begins at fol. 60 *c*, Book IV. at 88 *b*, and Book V. at 117 *b*. In each case a portion of the text has been lost with the initial. The *Troy Book* ends at fol. 139 verso with last line of Book V. The envoy and *verba translatoris* are wanting. Many lines are omitted in the text, and generally blank spaces are left for them. At the end of Book V. occurs the following inscription : " Here endeth the book of the Sege of Troye translated by John Lydgate the monk of Bury out of Latyn into Englissh at the instaunce of the most excellent and renomyd Prince King Henry the fifte. The yere of the Incarnacioun of oure lord A. m^l.cccc. and xx^{ti}.

¹ The same was done, although to a lesser extent, by the copyist of Cr (comp. description of Cr).

And of the reigne of the said King Henry the V. the viii yere," beneath which is the word "Explicit" in large ornamental letters.

According to WARD, the volume was subsequently presented to king Henry VIII., "as appears from some verses addressed to him in 15 seven-line stanzas" (see first fol.). These verses begin with the lines:

"As the bryght beames of Phebus Illumyneth the wordle
vniuersall

And as the vertue of Charytye all vertuous people doth comforte,
So god hath electe yowe owre Soueraigne and most pryncipall
Whose puyssaunce Surmounteth the most excellent Sorte
Most worthiest of dignytye to have A perpetua^{ll} reporte
Emonges the worthies nyne to be had yn memorye
Also emonges them all to have A place of high pryncypalytye. ."

and end:

"To vtter my true minde in all the best that I maye
beseching *your* grace taccept the gifte of *your* loya^{ll} subiect
John of Audelay."

It is also stated in WARD, that "John Touchet, 6th Lord Audley, died in 1491; but from the first three lines of the fifth stanza:

'For whate man of so high parence wolde so studye and muse
To take half suche paynes the trwe knolege to be hadde
As yowre grace hath don and yet doth not refuse,'

and also from the character of the handwriting, it would seem probable that the presentation was made to Henry VIII., and therefore the donor was John Touchet, 8th Lord Audley, who was restored to the family honours (which had been forfeited by his father) in 1512, was summoned in 1514, and died about 1557-8."

The chief orthographical peculiarities are frequent endings in *is*, *ith*, etc., and *w* for *u*. Both *th* and *p* are employed, also *ȝ*. The handwriting is poor and falls off considerably towards the end of the volume; the text is very corrupt.

10. E = *Exeter College (Oxford) MS. cxxix.*

See COXE, *Catalogue of Oxford MSS.*, 1852, I, pt. 4, p. 33. Vellum; of approximately the same date as R 2. Large folio, ff. 139. Hastily written in a large hand, in double columns, 49 lines to the full column. Large illuminated initial at the beginning of the prologue, and smaller initials in blue with red decorations at the beginning of

each book. The lines begin with capital letters touched with yellow, and the capital letters at the top of each column are extended into ornamental flourishes. No marks of punctuation, but an unusually large number of symbols of abbreviation. No running title except at the prologue, where the word "rologus" (the initial "P" omitted) occurs at the top of each page. The folios were originally numbered, but the margins on which the numbering was written have been cut away by the binder. Towards the end of the volume the handwriting becomes more careless, and the lines have a tendency to run over into one another. The envoy and *verba translatoris* are wanting, as in R 2. At the end of Book V. occurs the inscription: "And thus her endith the book of the sege of Troie translaid by Dan Iohn Lidgate Monke of Buri out of latine in-to Englissh," to which the word "and" has been added in a later hand. At the bottom of fol. 20 recto occurs the signature "howell ap Johñ apparry," also in a later hand; and at the bottom of fol. 50 verso, a monogram "T. C." and the inscription, "for thomas I tell you playn | he that made thys boke | toke greate payne." At the bottom of the last folio verso, occurs the inscription, "vij | Edward Morgæn | me possidet | & (?) fecit finis," together with some unimportant scribbling and the lines, "Amoungest the Trogiance alle | Hector he did excell | As Helen *withe* the Greciance | for Beytie bare the Bell."

There are but few orthographical peculiarities. The scribe has a certain preference for *u* in place of *w*; whois for whose is also of frequent occurrence. The plurals are often in *is* and verbs frequently end in *ith*, *id*, etc.

E is imperfect and cannot contain more than 27,000 lines. The same lines are omitted as in R 2 (III. 4972, IV. 498, etc.); and blank spaces are occasionally left where there is no omission. In this respect also the same peculiarity is presented by R 2. In all minor variations the two MSS. are in striking agreement, and have been derived beyond doubt from a common original. Moreover E, resembles R 2 even in such details as the purple ruled lines for the guidance of the scribe, and type of handwriting.

11. Do = Douce 148.

Bodleian, Oxford. See *Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts bequeathed by F. Douce*, p. 25;¹ BRADSHAW, *Cambridge Antiquarian*

¹ See also Madan, *Summary Catalogue*, IV, 1897, p. 538.

Society's Communications, III, p. 117; PANTON and DONALDSON, *Gest Hystoriule of the Destruction of Troy*, E.E.T.S., 1874, preface; HORSTMANN, *Barbour's Legendensammlung*, II, 228 *et seq.*; MORLEY, *Eng. Writers*, 1890, VI, p. 121; SOMMER, *Caxton's Lefevre*, I, xl; also for the "Barbour" fragments, BUSS, *Anglia*, IX, 493; KOEPEL, *Eng. Stud.*, X, 373. On paper, end of the 15th or early 16th century. Small folio, ff. 336. Imperfect, wanting prologue, a considerable portion of Book IV., almost the whole of Book V., and the envoy and *verba translatoris*. Supplemented at the end by a fragment of a 15th century Scottish version of Guido's *Historia* in octosyllabic couplets¹ by a writer named Barbour, at one time supposed to be John Barbour, author of *The Bruce*. Written in two different hands in single columns. The first hand extends from fol. 1 through fol. 44, ending at I. 2939, and averages 33 lines to the full column; the second hand is smaller, averaging about 40 lines to the column, and extends from I. 2940 (fol. 45 recto) to line 830 of the Scottish version of Guido (fol. 300 recto). Here the first hand begins again and continues to the end of the volume. Both hands are of a semi-cursive character and difficult to decipher, and neither seems to have any special connexion with the "Barbour" fragment, of which the original was apparently at the disposal of both copyists. No running title or catchwords. The lines begin with capital letters. Blank spaces are left for initials and chapter headings, except at the beginning of Book I., where the following rubric occurs:

Thesus maria [in black]

¶ Heir begynnes þe troy buke Translatit
by a moñke of Bery the quhilk spekis
first / how þe king of Thesaly named pelleus
had all his meñ slane be devyne punitioun
and how throw his prayer he had upre agane

The three middle lines are in red, and below the last line to the left is a large initial *I*, also in red (first line of Book I.). It is to be noticed that from the first *how* on, the above rubric agrees word for word with the corresponding chapter heading in Pynson's print. At the end of the volume we have the inscription: "Heir endis þe sege of Troye writtin & mendit at þe Instaunce of ane hon^t chaplane *sir Thomas ewyñ in Edinburgh.*"

¹ Printed by Horstmann together with Lydgate IV. 6541-6944 V. 3341-3372 and 3608-3612, pp. 229-304.

The *Troy Book* is fairly complete (except for the missing prologue) down to the end of Book IV., where it breaks off at line 5337¹ (fol. 290). Then follow 916 lines of the Scottish fragment. At fol. 301 recto, Lydgate begins again with line 6541 of Book IV., and continues down through line 6944 (fol. 306 verso), at which point the Scottish version is again resumed and carried down through fol. 335. Lydgate begins once more at fol. 336 recto, with line 3341 of Book V., and continues through line 3372, after which a spurious line (*To quhom I teche all our saullis in cure*) is inserted to complete the next couplet. Then follow 3608–12 (the last five lines of Book V.).

The first hand is probably that of the scribe who did the mending at the instance of the honourable chaplain; and a comparison of his work with that of the second scribe (*i. e.* the original copyist, who was responsible for the greater portion of the volume) goes to prove that his additions (I. 1–2939, IV. 6541–6944, V. 3341–3472, 3608–3612), in spite of their more strongly-marked dialectical peculiarities, were based on a text greatly superior to that from which the rest of the volume was obtained.²

With the exception of the 3480 lines of the first scribe, the text is extraordinarily corrupt. Words and syllables are constantly added or dropped, and frequent interpolations are made to patch out the lines. Many of the errors are due to the influence of the dialect and to the carelessness of the copyist who was responsible for the greater portion of the text, yet a comparison with K (see next section) proves that the inferiority of his work is chiefly a result of its having been based on an inferior MS.

Dialectical peculiarities are very numerous, especially in the portions of the text written by the first scribe, whose work, according to HORSTMANN,³ is coloured by the dialect of Edinburgh. In the

¹ Followed by a spurious line to complete the couplet:

“Lorde gode þi grace mot help ws one & all.”

² I have a strong suspicion that the text of the first scribe was copied or taken down at dictation from the 1513 print. The coincidence of the rubric at the beginning of Book I. with the corresponding chapter-heading in the table of Pynson's print, and the superiority of his text to that of the second scribe, would seem to confirm this view. The passage containing lines 6541–6944 of Book IV., printed in Horstmann, pp. 254–262, allowing of course for the differences in the dialect, agrees substantially with my own text, taken from the best MSS., and from which Pynson's print varies in comparatively few particulars. A careful comparison, however, of the work of the first scribe with the 1513 print, will be necessary before this question can be definitely settled.

³ P. 228.

work of the second (original) scribe a slighter admixture of Scottish forms is shown.¹ A comparative study of the dialectical and orthographical peculiarities of the two copyists would be of considerable interest:

12. K = MS. Kk. V. 30.

University Library, Cambridge. See *Catalogue of the MSS. preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, III, 1853, p. 699; BRADSHAW, *Catalogue of the Cambridge University Library MSS.*, V, pp. 600-603, also *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications*, III, 117; PANTON and DONALDSON, *Gest Hystoriale*, preface; HORSTMANN, *Barbour's Legendensammlung*, II, 228 *et seq.*; MORLEY, *English Writers*, 1890, VI, p. 120; SOMMER, *Caxton's Lefevre*, I, xl; also the articles by BUSS and KOEPPPEL cited under Do. On paper, of approximately the same date as Do. Small folio; imperfect, having originally consisted of upwards of 336 leaves, of which 1-10, 24, 324 and all following are now wanting. Leaves 11-18 contain the first fragment of the Scotch translation of Guido's *Historia* in romance couplets, printed in Horstmann, pp. 218-227. At fol. 19 recto is the inscription, "Her endis barbour and begynnis þe monk," and below this Lydgate begins with line 1689 of Book I. and continues to fol. 304 verso, ending with line 5337² of Book IV., beneath which is the inscription, "Her endis the monk and begynnis barbour." Fols. 304 verso-323 verso, where the volume breaks off, contain the second fragment of the Scottish version of Guido (see Horstmann, pp. 229-273). To the original volume, 82 leaves of additional matter, including a supply to the missing portions of the *Troy Book* in the handwriting of Sir James Murray of Tibbermuir, were added early in the 17th century. This matter was subsequently collected, paged in pencil, and placed at the end of the volume. In addition to Murray's supply these additional 82 leaves (18 and 22 are now missing) contain various sonnets, some twelve lines from *The Life and Acts of Wallace*, "*Catalogus Librorum Jacobi Murryi ut sequitur*" (occupies only one page, fol. 2 recto), and extracts from and fragments of several different poems in 12- and 14-syllable rhyming couplets in the northern dialect, etc. (for further details see Bradshaw's description, *Catalogue*, V, 601).

¹ Comp. Horstmann, p. 227.

² Followed by the same spurious line which occurs in Do.

The supplement to the *Troy Book* was copied from the 1555 print, and begins on leaf 26 recto of the supply with the title-page as follows: The | Ancient Historie | And onely trew & | sincere Cronicle off the | warres betuix the Grecianes | & the Trojanes & subsequentlie off ye | first eversione off ye Ancient & famous | Citie off Troye onder Laamedone | the King & last onder Priame | vrettine By Daretus a Trojane | & Dictvs a Græciane present | In Latine by Guido & nou in Englis | wers By Ihone Lidgat Monk off Bvrye | in Ingland anno 1451 1612." After this follow Braham's "Epistle to the Reader" (fol. 27), the prologue (fols. 28-32), the table of contents¹ (33-34), the missing portion of Book I.² (35-48), the concluding portion of Book IV. (49-50), and the latter part of Book V. (51-71 recto), where the supply ends with the last line of Book V. and the following inscription: "Finis. Hic explicit Liber 5^{us} et ultimus. All quihilk befor it vantet yis 40 3eiris ago now latlie eikit addit and copeit out off ye print ye beginning and end yar off yis holl storie as ye breik beareth be me James Murray with my hand in all hest that for ye present hes ye same of my father Ihone Murry off Tibbermuir most Iustlie anno 1612 ye 24 of Maij."

The original part of the volume is written in a semi-cursive 16th century hand of the same type as the original hand of Do. Single columns, from 35 to 40 lines to the full column. Initials in red, running-title in roman numerals designating the number of the chapter according to the edition of 1555, and headings to the chapters written on the margins (both by Murray). Catchwords sometimes occur, and the lines begin with capital letters. The manuscript is in a rather tattered condition and the leaves are badly soiled. It has evidently

¹ As specimens of Murray's (?) orthography, the first three items may be quoted as follows: Cap. 1, The king off Thessalie Pelleus loist all his menn be devyne punishment & efter be his preyers obteeneit uthers. Cap. 2, Eson for that he was auld & micht no langer veld ye governaill causeit croune his brother Pelleus. Cap. 3, Pelleus feareing to be deposeit be his Brother sone Iason a wirthie and a wailant 3oung knight counsellit him to undertak the parrellous conquest off the goldin Fleish quho undertuik the samein.

² The supply to Book I. is not carried down to I. 1689 of Lydgate, but to 1052, about 175 lines beyond the point where the narrative begins in the "Barbour" fragment (line 875 Lydgate). But the Scottish version is so much more literal and concise that the first 60 of its lines are equal to the 175 of Lydgate's. The supply to Book IV. commences with line 6919 and continues to the end of the book. In this case the supplement was not required, for there is no break in the narrative in the Scottish version between IV. and V. What Murray added was the long digression on idolatry (some 175 lines) at the end of Book IV. In Book V. the supply takes up the story where it breaks off in the "Barbour" fragment, namely, at line 536 (Lydgate).

xxx *Harvard, Tollemache, and Gloucester MSS. Pynson's Print.*

been diligently read and re-read and has seen much hard usage. There are numerous trifling inscriptions scattered among the pages, the signature of James Murray being of frequent occurrence. Other entries are "Kattrin Morton with my hand," "Maria Moorrage with my hand," and "Captaine James Lyell." According to Mr. Bradshaw, *Catalogue*, it is the volume marked 46 in the sale catalogue of the Duke of Lauderdale's MSS., printed in London in 1691-2, 4^o, and reprinted in the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, II, 149.

The text is very corrupt and closely resembles the older portion of Do. The orthographical and dialectical peculiarities are also similar to those of the original part of Do, and there can be no doubt that the two MSS. have been derived from a common source.

13. *The MS. formerly in the possession of the Earl of Ashburnham, now in the Harvard University Library.*

See HIST. MSS. COMM., 8th Report, pt. iii, p. 106 *b*; LEE, art. 'Lydgate,' *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXXIV, p. 312 *a*. On paper, folio. 15th century (probably very late 15th century); imperfect, beginning with line 559 of Book I. and ending at line 3102 of Book V. The signature "Thomas Kynton" occurs on one of the margins.

14. *The MS. in the Library of Lord Tollemache, Helmingham Hall, Suffolk.*

See HIST. MSS. COMM., 1st Report, p. 60 *b*; FURNIVALL, *Generides*, Roxburghe Club, 1865, p. xx; LEE (comp. *supra*). On vellum. "The MS. is put by Sir Frederic Madden at about 1430-50, the date of so many of the MSS. of the Canterbury Tales. It is a tall, double-columned folio, the first part of which contains 'Lydgate's Troy Book,' and the second, this 'Sir Generides' from fol. 103 to fol. 152 back."—Furnivall.

15. *The MS. in the Cathedral Library, Gloucester.*

See HIST. MSS. COMM., 12th Report, pt. ix, p. 399. LEE (comp. *supra*). Folio, late 15th century.

B. THE PRINTS.

1. P 1 = *Pynson's print.*

British Museum; two copies, one in the King's Collection, marked C. 11. b. 7, the other in the Grenville Library, G. 11607;

Bodleian, imperfect, leaf B 1 (first alphabet) missing, marked Douce L. 461 ; Huth Library, on vellum ; Hunterian Museum, Glasgow ;¹ Pepysian Library,¹ on vellum ; Bamborough Castle, Northumberland.¹ See TANNER, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, London, 1748, p. 492 ; AMES, *Typographical Antiquities*, 1749, p. 119 ; HERBERT'S *Ames*, I, 258-9 ; PANZER,² *Annales Typographici*, Nürnberg, 1799, VII, 240 ; BRÜGGEMANN, *A View of the English Editions, Translations, and Illustrations of the ancient Greek and Latin Authors*, Stettin, 1797, p. 480 ; RITSON, *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 67 ; ELLIS, *Specimens of the Early English Poets*, 3rd ed. 1803, I, 280 ; DIBDIN'S *Ames*, 1812, II, 535-36 ; WATT, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, 1824, II, 624 *w* ; LOWNDES, ed. Bohn, V, 1419 ; BRUNET, *Manuel*, 5th ed., II, 172 ; HAZLITT, *Hand-Book*, 1867, 116 *a* ; ALLIBONE, *Dictionary*, II, art. 'Lydgate' ; WARTON-HAZLITT, III, 80-81 ; WARD, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 79 ; ROSSETTI, *Chaucer's Troylus and Cryseyde compared with Boccaccio's Filostrato*, Chaucer Soc., 1883, quotes V. 3513-3543, D 3 verso (second alphabet) at p. xi ; GREIF, *Die mittelalterlichen Bearbeitungen der Trojanersage*, 1886, p. 69 ; MORLEY, *English Writers*, ed. 1890, VI, 121 ; SCHICK, *Temple of Glas*, xci, ci, etc. ; LEE, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. 'Lydgate,' XXXIV, 312 ; SOMMER, *Caxton's Lefevre*, I, xlii ; DUFF, *Hand-lists of English Printers*, 1501-1556, Part II, 9 ; SIEPER, *Reson and Sensuallyte*, II, quotations in notes, pp. 78, 82, 88, etc. Small folio ; black letter ; in double columns, 50 lines to the full column. In sixes ; 2 leaves + A to Z and A to D 4 in the second alphabet = 162 leaves. The caesuras are indicated by slanting strokes and there are occasional full-stops at the ends of the lines. No catchwords. Ornamented with numerous woodcuts. The title stands on the first leaf recto, above a woodcut of the arms of England surmounted by a rose, as follows : "The hystorye / Sege and dystruccyon of Troye | Hec Rosa virtutis de celo missa sereno. Eternū florens | regia sceptrā feret." On the verso of this leaf is a large woodcut of the city of Troy surrounded by soldiers, who are bombarding the walls with great guns. On the second leaf, both sides, the table of contents is printed in double columns, as follows :

¹ Comp. Lowndes, ed. Bohn, and Hazlitt. Morley (p. 121) states that four copies are known.

² Although Panzer cites Mattaire, *Annales Topographici*, The Hague, 1712, Ind. II, p. 39, I am unable to find the reference to P 1, either in the original four volumes or in Denis' two-volume supplement.

TABULA.

¶ The table or rubrysshe of the Content of the chapitres shortly of the Firste booke.

¶ Firste the Prologue of the Translatoure.

The firste Chapitre speketh / How y^e Kynge of Thesalye named Pelleus had all his men slayne by dyuyn punycion / And how thoroghe his prayer he hadde other agayne.

Capitulo.

Primo.

¶ How kynge Eson crowned his broder Pelleus kynge bycause that he was fallen in age & myght not welde it. Capitulo.

ii.

¶ How Pelleus couſayled his neuewe Iason by malyce to goo to conquere the golden F[l]ees / and how he toke it vpon hym. Ca.

iii.

¶ How Iason goynge to conquere the golden F[l]ees toke Lande for to refresshe hym / and his felawshyp besyde Troye. Ca.

iiii.

¶ How kyng Lamedone of Troye sent a messenger vnto Iason / for to byd hym auoyde his Countre / and of theyr langage betwene them. Capitulo.

v.

¶ How Medea shewed Iason all the maner of the Conquest of the golden Flees / and howe he wanne it. Cap.

vi.

¶ Howe Iason toke shyppyng with his loue Medea / and sayled awaye with hir. Ca.

vii.

¶ Howe Iason / Hercules / and all the Prynces of Grece toke theyr shyppyng / for to go and dystroye the Cyte of Troye. Ca.

viii.

¶ How the Grekes armed them vpon the morowe / and fought with the Troyans / & discomfytet theym / and toke theyr cyte and destroyed it. Capitulo.

ix.

¶ The seconde boke.

¶ How Lydgate complayneth hym on Fortune / for the firste Dystruccyon of the Cyte of Troye / And how he begynneth his seconde Booke folowyng the mater of the sayde storye. Capitulo.

x.

¶ How Kynge Pryamus sone vnto kynge Lamedone buylded Troye / newe agayne. Ca.

xi.

¶ How kynge Pryamus sente Anthenor into Grece for to haue his suster Exyone agayne. Capitulo.

xii.

¶ How kynge Pryamus sent Parys into Grece with Dephebus / and other men of armes for to take vengeance on the Grekes / & how they toke the fayre Heleyne quene vnto Menelaus / and brought hir vnto Troye. Ca.

xiii.

¶ How Parys was receyued at Troye / at his home comynge / and howe he wedded the fayre Eleyne. Capitulo.

xiiii.

¶ How the Grekes assembled them togyder for to go to Troye / and dystroye it agayne for quene Heleynes sake. Cap.

xv.

¶ Of the Discripcyon of Pryamus & his sones and daughters / and howe the Grekes toke lande before the Temple of Dyane the Goddesse. Capitulo.

xvi.

¶ How the Grekes sente Achylles / and Pyrrodes into the yle of

Velos [*sic*] for to haue answere of the god Appollo / how they shuld spede in theyr Iourney. Capitulo. xvii.

¶ How the Grekes were almost loste by Tempest of the see / And how they toke a Castell that was called Sarobona perteynyng to y^e Troyans. Capitulo. xviii.

¶ How kynge Agamenon assembled the Barons of Grece afore to kepe a Counsayle / And how they sente Vlixes and kynge Dyomede to kynge Pryamus on message. Ca. xix.

¶ How kynge Agamenon / sente Achylles and Thelephus into the yle of Messa for vytaylles. And how they slewe the kynge / and made Thelephus kynge after his deth. Cap. xx

¶ How the Grekes toke lande before Troye / & how they were strongly fought with. Ca. xxi.

¶ The thirde boke.

¶ How the thirde boke telleth how the Troyans yssued out on y^e morowe / and fought with the Grekes / & how valyauntly Ector bare hymselfe that daye. Capitulo. xxii.

¶ How the Grekes sent to kynge Pryamus for to haue trewes for Eyght wekes / And of theyr Bataylles after the trewes fayled. Ca. xxiii.

¶ How the Troyans toke kynge Thoas prysoner / & ledde hym into Troye. Capitulo. xxliii.

¶ Howe duryng a Trewes of thre Monthes Ector walked into the grekes hoost / And of the cōmuny[c]acyon of Achylles & hym. Ca. xxv.

¶ How whan the trewes was endyd they went to batayle agayne / where as were many a man slayne on bothe partyes / And of the Discripcyon of the Palays of ylyon / And also how there dyed so many grekes of the pestylence / that they demaunded trewes for .xxx. dayes whiche they obteyned. Capitulo. xxvi.

¶ How Andromecha Ectors wyfe had a vysyon in hir slepe / that [Achilles] and hir housbonde fought on the morowe that he shulde be slayne / the whiche wold nat byleue hir / nouthur Fader nor moder / And how Achylles slewe him. Ca. xxvii.

¶ Of the complaynt that Lydgate maketh for the deth of worthy Ector. Cap. xxviii.

¶ The fourthe boke.

¶ How the fourthe Boke / whiche speketh how Grekes made kynge Pallamydes chefe Capitayne of theyr Hoost / and deposed kynge Agamenon. Capitulo. xxix.

¶ How kynge Pryamus went vnto the batayle / for to auenge the dethe of Ector / where as he dyd meruayllous dedes of Armes. Ca. xxx.

¶ Howe Achylles slewe the worthy Troylus Ectors brother vnknyghtly / and trayled hym aboute the felde at his hors tayle. Ca. xxxi.

¶ How Parys slewe Achylles in the Temple of Appollo / and Anthylogus duke Nestors sone Capitulo. xxxii.

¶ Howe Parys & Thelamon Ajax slewe eche other in the felde. Capitulo. xxxliii.

¶ Howe Pantasyllya / the Quene of Amazone came for to socoure kynge Pryamus of Troye And howe Pyrrus Achylles sone slewe hir. Capitulo. xxxliiii.

¶ How the Grekes made an hors of brasse wherein was men of Armes / & vnder coloure of peas brought it into Troye / by the whiche it was vtterly destroyed for ever. Cap. xxxv.

¶ The fyfthe boke.

¶ The fyfthe boke of Troye / the which speketh how the Grekes retourned into Grece after the distruccyon / And after they that escaped dyed myscheuously. Capitulo. xxxvi.

¶ Howe the translatoure wryteth the stocke of Pyrrus by lyneal discent / how his Graunfader hyghte Pelleus / and his Graunmoder called Thetydes. Capitulo. xxxvii.

¶ Of the moost worthy kynge Henry y^e fyfthe.

¶ Explicit Tabula.

Here after foloweth the Troye boke / otherwyse called the Sege of Troye / Translated by Iohn Lydgate monke of the Monastery of Bury / And Emprynted at the cōmaūdement of oure Soue raygne Lorde the kynge Henry the viii. By Richarde Pynson / prynter vnto his most noble gra=ce. The yere of our Lorde god a. M. CCCC. and. xiii . .

Then follows "The prologue of the Translatoure," ornamented at the beginning with a woodcut in which a monk is represented kneeling before a king and handing him a book. At the end of Book V. the envoy is printed as an additional chapter (comp. the last heading above) followed by "Explicit Liber quintus & vltimus"; the *verba translatoris* is divided into two parts, the first stanza of eight lines being headed "Lenuoye," and the second stanza, "Verba translatoris ad librum suum." It is to be noticed that the *verba translatoris* is treated in the same manner in the 1555 print, as well as in the modernised version of 1614. Beneath the second stanza of the *verba translatoris* (fol. D 4 verso, second alphabet) stands the colophon:—

Here endeth the Troye booke otherwyse called the Sege of Troye / translated by Iohn Lydgate monke of the Monastery of Bery / And Emprynted the yere of oure Lorde a. M.CCCC. & .xiiij. by Richard Pynson / prynter vnto the kynges noble grace.

Beneath the colophon is Pynson's device no. 3 (Dibdin), facsimiled as sign no. 4 in Duff, *Hand-lists of English Printers*, 1501-1556, Part II. The text, allowing for the unavoidable printers' errors of a period scarcely renowned for its accuracy, is excellent, and must have been taken from an early MS. For further details see next section, § 7.

2. P 2 = *Marshe's Print*, 1555.

British Museum, marked 79. h. 5; Bodleian; Advocates' Library, etc., and in many private libraries. See TANNER, p. 492; AMES, p. 298; HERBERT'S *Ames*, II, 848-9; RITSON, p. 67; ELLIS, *Specimens*, 3rd ed. I, 280-298, quotations from; DIBDIN'S *Ames*, IV, 494-496, extract from Braham's preface, 495, also III, 466-7; WATT, II, 647 *q*; LOWNDES, ed. Bohn, V, 1419; BRUNET, II, 172; HAZLITT, *Hand-Book*, 116*a*; ALLIBONE, article 'Lydgate'; WARTON-HAZLITT, III, 80; WARD, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 79; MORLEY, *Eng. Writers*, 1890, VI, 121; SCHICK, *Temple of Glas*, cxliii; LEE, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXXIV, 312, article 'Lydgate'; SOMMER, *Caxton's Lefevre*, I, xlii. Small folio, in sixes; two leaves + B to Dd 4 + Ee 4 = 160 leaves. Printed in black-letter in double columns, 49 lines to the full column; with running title and catchwords. Unpaged. The caesuras are not indicated. The end of almost every line is decorated either with a comma or a full-stop, otherwise there are no marks of punctuation. The title is printed in a rectangular space in the centre of a symbolical woodcut (fol. 1 recto) covering the entire page, and representing two genealogical (rose) trees of the houses of Lancaster and York. The one tree springs from the recumbent body of "Iohn Dvke of Lancastre" in the bottom left-hand corner, and the other from "Edmvdn Dvke of Yorke" at the opposite side of the page. The branches are twined about twenty-three rude portraits of various members of the two houses,—to the left "Ihon Erle of Somerset," "Iohn Dvke of Somerset," "K. Henry V," "Margaret Covntes Rychmond," etc., and to the right, among others, "K. Edward IIII," "R. D. of York," and "K. Rychard III." At the top of the page stand the portraits of "Kyng Henry the VII" and "Qvene Elyzabeth," with clasped right hands, and above them "Kynge Henry the VIII," supported on a large rose, of which the stem is formed of two united branches of the trees. This design was first used by Marshe in his edition

of Halle's *Chronicle*, printed in 1550.¹ The somewhat lengthy title² is as follows:

T H E A V N=
C I E N T H I S T O R I E A N D
onely trewe and syncere Cronicle of
the warres betwixte the Grecians and the
Troyans, and subsequently of the fyrst euer
cyon of the auncient and famouse Cytye of
Troye vnder Lamedon the king, and of the
laste and fynall destruction of the same vn=
der Pryam, wrytten by Daretus a Trojan
and Dictus a Grecian both souldiours and
present in all the sayde warres and dige=
sted in Latyn by the lerned Guydo
de Columpnis and sythe[n]s
translated in to en=
glyshe verse
by Iohn Lydgate Moncke
of Burye. And newly
imprinted. An. M.
D. L. V . . .

The preface by Robert Braham is of considerable interest, not only because of its allusions to Caxton, Chaucer, and William Thynne, but also by reason of its being an early expression of opinion as to how a text should be edited. Besides, Braham's complaisancy in regard to the merits of his own editorial labours and his unjust censure of the 1513 print have evidently given rise to not a little misapprehension as to the relative worth of the two editions. Thus Tanner, p. 492, says: "*Est haec translatio . . . quae primum parum accurate impressa fuit A. MDXIII. sed multo correctius publicata postea per Rob. Braham Lond. MDLV*"; Ellis, I, 281: "The most esteemed edition of this work is that of 1555, printed by Thomas Marshe under the care of one Robert Braham, who corrected it from many errors of the original edition given by Pynson in 1513"; Warton-Hazlitt, III, 80: "Another and a much more correct edition followed, under the care of [Robert] Braham, in the year 1555"; Brunet, II, 172: "*L'édit. de 1513 est incorrecte, mais d'une très-grande rareté,*" and adds that the print of 1555 is a "*bonne*

¹ Comp. Dibdin and Lowndes.

² Reprinted with a good many blunders by Sommer, with still more blunders, besides omissions, by Ritson, and correctly by Watt and Hazlitt. Ritson indeed managed to crowd 21 mistakes into the eight and a half lines occupied by the title as printed in his *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 67, note.

edition"; Morley, VI, 121: "It [P 1] was reprinted more accurately . . . in 1555"; Lee, article 'Lydgate,' also credits Braham with having corrected the text; and in Lowndes, ed. Bohn, V, 1419, P 1 is stated to be the "first but extremely corrupt edition," and that P 2 is the "best edition." Had it not been for Braham's pretensions and the mention of the name Thynne, it is quite probable that no one would have given the edition of 1555 precedence of the earlier print. As a matter of fact, Braham's edition is the poorest of all the texts of the *Troy Book*, with the exception perhaps of the two Scottish MSS. As will appear later on, Braham's work as editor consisted chiefly in adapting Lydgate's lines to the pronunciation of his own time. He did not add the final unaccented *e*, the frequent absence of which when wanted, is perhaps the greatest fault in Pynson's text,—for this was obviously beyond his knowledge,—on the contrary, whenever a line was found to halt, he sought to mend matters by inserting words or syllables, transposing, or otherwise modernising,—and apparently solely on the authority of his own fancy. Although it is true that he corrected a few obvious misprints and blunders, he miscorrected more; and that he had a good MS. or any MS. at all at his disposal, does not appear to the present writer. His statement to the effect that "copies" were few, points rather to his having none. In addition to his corrections, Braham seems to have given the printer free licence to adorn the end of almost every line with either a full-stop or a comma (the ratio is about three commas to one full-stop). At leaf G i (selected at random) there are but four lines without either a comma or period at the end, at I ii there are but two such lines, and at Q i, only one; and in each case the stop has been crowded out for lack of space, for the lines in question are all particularly long ones. It goes without saying that the marks of punctuation are employed as a rule without the slightest regard to the context. The text will be described more fully in the next section, § 7.

Braham's preface is as follows:

The pistle to the reader.

To the reader.

Although the battayles betwixte the Greycians and the Troyans before the laste and fynall euerion of y^e Cyty of Troy (as an historye worthy of eterne memorye []) hath passed through the pennes of sundry famous Poetes and great clerkes, Grekes, and Latynes, as Homer, Vergyle, Ouyde, and others, whych for that theyr workes therof came to the handes of most men, haue therefore hytherto

ben holden as chiefest reporters of that hystorye. Of whom neuerthelesse partlye by affection towardes theyr countreythemen, as Homer fauourynge the Greycians, and Virgyle and Ouyde the Troyans, and partelye breakynge out (as who sayth) into theyr poetycall fictions, the historye was so peruerted: that the verye trouthe therof is not to be had in theyr dygestes. What we maye then hope to fynde of the trouthe, in theyr doynge that haue onely laboured as translators of Virgyle & Homer into theyr peculyer and vulgare languages, as it is easelye to be consydered. Of whome, although some I do confesse haue learnedlye and that ryghte well perfourmed theyr enterpryse therein. Yet hath there ben other some, so beastly bolde to vnder-take w^out eyther wyt or any learning, to translate the same history namelye the Eanedes of Virgyle into englyshe, not vnderstandynge scarce any word what Virgile mēt in all that worke. As by example, if a man studyouse of that historye, shoulde seke to fynde the same in the doynge of Wylliam Caxton in his leawde recueil of Troye: what shoulde he then fynde thyncke you? assuredlye none other thyng, but a longe tedious and brayneles bablyng, tendyng to no ende, nor hauyng any certayne begynnynge: but proceadyng therein as an ydyot in his follye, that can not make an ende tyll he be bydden. Muche lyke the foolyshe and vnsauerye doynge of Orestes, whom Iuuinall¹ remembreth, that after he had wryt his booke to the iuste volume, filled then the mergentes and outwarde sydes with his madnes, whych after both that within and wythout consydered tended to no purpose at all. whych Caxtons recueil, who so lyst wyth iudgement peruse, shall rather thyncke his doynge worthy to be nūbred amongst the trifelinge tales and barrayne luerdries² of Robyn Hode, & Beuys of Hampton, then remaine as a monumēt of so worthy an history. Yet hath there not wanted the faythful & trew reporters of y^t historye, as Daretus the Phrigyan, and Dytus the Greycian, who both curyouse of the worthy dedes of theyr countreithes, & both lykewyse presēt in al the sayd warres haue dyligently registred the same, whose bokes

¹ First Satire, 1—6:

Semper ego auditor tantum? numquamne reponam,
vexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi?
impune ergo mihi recitauerit ille togatas,
hic elegos? impune diem consumpserit ingens
Telephus, aut summi plena iam margine libri
scriptus et in tergo nec dum finitus Orestes?—*ed.* J. E. B. Mayor.

² Stupidities, buffooneries. The word seems to be an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in English. See N. E. Dict. under *lourderie*.

although by iniurye of the tyme, were not of long extant, yet at the last beyng founde at Athenes, haue sins by dewe conference ben founde hooly to agre, in all the dyscourse of y^e sayd warres, which the labores aswel of Darete as Dyte, at the laste came to the syght & handes of the lerned and dylygent Guydo of Columpna, who hath syncerelye and pythely digested the same in one latyne volume. And so by these degrees, hath bene at the laste by y^e diligence of Iohn Lydgate a moncke of Burye, brought into our englyshe tonge: and dygested as maye appere¹ in verse[,] who estranayle² as well in other his doynges as in this hathe wythout doubte so muche preuayled in this our vulgare language, that hauynge his prayse dewe to his deseruynges, may worthyly be numbred amongst those that haue chefelye deserued of our tunge. As the verye perfect disciple and imitator of the great Chaucer, y^e onelye glorye and beauty of the same. Neuertheles lykewyse as it hapned y^e same Chaucer to lease y^e prayse of that tyme wherin he wrote beyng then when in dede al good letters were almost aslepe, so farre was the grosenesse and barbarousnesse of that age from the vnderstādinge of so deuyne a wryter. That if it had not bene in this our time, wherin all kindes of learnyng (thancked be god) haue as much floryshed as euer they did by anye former dayes within this realme, and namelye by the dylygence of one willyam Thime³ a gentilmā who laudably studyouse to y^e polyshing of so great a Iewell, with ryghte good iudgement trauail, & great paynes causing the same to be pfected and stamped as it is nowe read, y^e sayde Chaucers workes had vtterly peryshed, or at y^e lest bin so depraued by corrupcion of copies, that at the laste, there shoulde no parte of hys meaning haue ben founde in any of them. Euen the same iniurye almost hathe happened to this wryter in this his Pamphlite of the euercio of Troye: being printed about .xlii. yeares agoe, euen then in the taylor (as it hapned) of the dercke and vnlearned times, suche was then the ignoraunce of bothe the prynter and correctour, neyther of them as it shoulde seme eyther learned or vnderstandynge [*sic*] englishe, y^t y^e same worke is so falsed in his verse by either lacke, folishe surplus, or displasinge of y^e wordes, that thereby y^e sentence and cōsequētlye y^e historye is so confused and obscured, that in most places, there can be almost nothing gathered therof. I therefore muche meruaylinge how it hath happened, whether for lack of copies, (as in dede they be but few) or otherwise y^t this boke being

Comma after 'appere' in the original. ² *Read* whose trauayle. ³ *Read* Thynne.

thonly trew & sincere english Cronicle, of that so worthye an historye whervpon so many great clerkes in other languages haue voutsafed theyr trauayles, hath not before this tyme (whiche in deede lacketh not that haue already by their doynge shewed themselves to haue ryght good iudgement in our language) bin purged of his falsyties, & redused as nere as mgiht [*sic*] be with conueniēce to the auctours translation. Haue therefore taken vpon me as one studious of y^e language of my countreyth although I must confesse y^e [1]east able of a great nūbre, to, [*sic*] bring again this historian into lyght somewhat I truste more perfecte & polished then before, not inuerting therein eyther matter or sentence, but leauyng that to the auctour his commendacyon, as of right apperteineth. Natheles if I would haue ben withdrawn from this myne attempte, w^t that which I myght iustly haue recompted w^t my selfe, that is, to consyder how great an enterprise he vndertaketh, that goeth aboute to brynge perfected into the handes of men y^e corrupted labours of former wryters, and howe lyttle thanke is gained thereby I shoulde neuer then haue dared, to haue bestowed hereof one penful of yncke. Consideryng that who so trauaylethe in other mennes doynge is thought to do nothinge of him selfe, and therby in some mens iudgements hath before hād the thanke that he deserueth. But if any such be that shal so discerne hereof. I may accompt his iudgement like indifferent as is that mā that should iudge, that he whych hath purged an ouergrowē felde of thornes, & stones, hath also sowed y^e same wyth corne, & shuld in y^e end be no partaker of y^e fruytes or increase therof. And surelye who so euer shall take vpon hym thus to trauayle in others mens labores, whether ye lyst to waye y^e difficultie of the thing or the commoditie & pleasure that shall ensewe to theym that be desirous to vnderstande the pryueties of our englishe tonge, me thincketh such one worthy of his praise. And that I may say my iudgemēt his trauayle ought not to be thought muche lesse then is his that writeth of his owne inuēcyō. For if the one commend y^e quickenes of y^e witt, thother declareth the ripenes of iudgement. He hauyng a large felde to discourse in, thother cōpelled withī y^e straight bōudes of y^e writer. The one may vse y^e frugalitie of inuencion & wytt, thother must so moderate the same, y^t when he hath greatest neade therof, yet may he not passe the linittes [*sic*]. Not one onely cōpye must be perused, but many exāplars loked ouer, & therin he maye not chose such as lyketh his fantasie, but y^t which shall seme to come more

nere to y^e auctours meninge, and maye most please and pleasure the readers. So that therin, he shall be compelled to put on (as it were) theyr fantasye, and yet that so sparinglye, y^t he maye neither adde nor take awaye, but where he shalbe thereto ledd by certaine & sure iudgementes. Al which thinges how easie they be, who so list practise the same maye sone discerne. Thus muche I haue thought good to set in wrytynge before this worke. To thend the readers maye be admonyshed, that this without other is the very trewe and sincere englishe historyan of the lamentable battels, destynye, and vtter euerion of the auncient and famouse Cytte of Troye and also to preuent the malice of suche, as shal happlye accompte my trauaile herein, rather rashe presumpeyon, then anye vertuouse imitacion of wel doynge.

Finis.

Robert Braham.

The poem begins with the prologue at fol. B i and ends with the envoy and *verba translatoris* at fol. E e iii recto. The envoy is included in Book V. as an additional chapter under the heading, "Of the most noble excellent Prynce kynge Henry the fyfthe," as in P 1. Beneath the last stanza we have, "*Explicit liber quintus et vltimus.*" The *verba translatoris* is divided into two parts as in P 1, headed respectively, "Lenuoye" and "*Verba translatoris ad librum suum.*" The table begins at fol. E e iii verso. Its headings (which also stand in the text at the beginning of each chapter) are based on those of P 1, but more or less edited and amplified, as may be seen from the following examples :

Howe the kinge of Thesalye named Pelleus loste all his men by dyuyn punishment who after by his praieris obteyned others. Ca. i.

¶ Howe Eson the kinge for that he was olde and myghte no longer welde the gouernayle caused to crowne his brother Pelleus. Ca. ii.

¶ Howe Pelleus fearynge to be deposed by his brothers sonne Iason, a worthy and valiaunt yonge knight, counsayled him to vndertake the peryllous and almost inuincible conquest of the golden fiese at Colchos, who by his perswasion vndertoke the same Ca. iii.

¶ Howe Iason in his expedicion towards Colchos, casually with his felowshippe, arruyed in the territoryes of Troye, meaninge onelye there for a whyle to refreshe and reste theym. Ca. iiii.

¶ How Lamedon kyng of Troye sent to Iason commaundinge him and his felowshyppe forthwyth to departe the confynes of his coutreyth and of theyr aunswere sente ayen to the kynge. Ca. v.

¶ How Iason through the only helpe of Medea Oetes doughter, the kynge of Colchos enamored of him he achieved the conquest of the golden fiese. Ca. vi.

At the end of the table is the colophon, "¶ Imprinted at London, in | Fletestrete at the sygne of the Prin=^{ces armes}, by Thomas | Marshe. | Anno. do. M. D. L. V." Inasmuch as the last line of the colophon is wanting in the Bodleian copy and as there are several small variations in the catch-words, there must have been at least two different impressions of the volume. In conclusion, we may quote by way of contrast to Braham's arrogant pretensions the following words of William Caxton in his *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, ll. 250 verso and 251 recto; facsimile in Sommer's ed. II, 712-13:

"And as for the thirde booke whiche treteth of the generall & last destruccōn of Troye Hit nedeth not to translate hit in to englisshe / ffor as moche as that worshi[p]full & religiuous mandan John lidgate monke of Burye dide translate hit but late / after whos werke I fere to take vpon me that am not worthy to bere his penner and ynke horne after hym. to medle me in that werke. But yet for as moche as I am bounde to contemplare [contemplate] my sayd ladyes good grace and also that his werke is in ryme / And as ferre as I knowe hit is not had in prose in our tonge / And also paraventure / he translated after some other Auctor than this is / And yet for as moche as dyuerce men ben of dyuerce desyres Some to rede in Ryme and metre. and some in prose And also be cause that I haue now good leyzer beyng in Coleyn And haue none other thyng to doo at this tyme In eschewing of ydlenes moder of all vices . I haue delibered in my self for the contemplacion of my sayd redoubtid lady to take this laboure in hand by þe suffraunce and helpe of almyghty god . whome I mekely supplye to gyue me grace to accomplysshe hit to the playsir of her that is causer therof and that she resseyue hit in gre of me her faithfull trewe & moste humble seruant &c."

3. *The Modernised Version of the Troy Book, published by Thomas Purfoot in 1614.*

Although the unknown author of this version succeeded in effacing all that is most characteristic of the earlier poet's manner from the *Troy Book*, and supplied frequent additions of his own, culled from the literary stock-in-trade of the period, we are nevertheless justified, so far as its general contents are concerned, in classifying the work as a production of Lydgate's. The treatment of the verse, *i. e.*, the substitution of six-line stanzas rhyming *ababce* for the heroic couplet, and the fact that the re-writer of 1614 handled his original with considerable freedom and not a little skill, naturally invite to a comparison of the two texts. Such a comparison is, however, forbidden by the scope of the present introduction; on the other hand, a summary description of Purfoot's print, accompanied by a few extracts, will, it is hoped, be neither without interest nor out of place in an account of the MSS. and prints of Lydgate's *Troy Book*.

The volume is a small folio of 6 unpagged + 162 paged leaves in sixes—excepting sections I. and Dd, which contain 9 and 3 leaves.

The signature of the first quire is a paragraph mark (¶); A 1 coincides with page 1; the last leaf is Dd 3. The paging, aside from frequent misprints, is incorrect, owing to the repetition of 126-131 after 131; the final leaf verso is numbered 318. The title-page (leaf ¶ 2 recto) consists in a symbolical woodcut design, the title itself occupying a rectangular space in the middle. In the four corners of the woodcut are four shields marked *Europa*, *Africa*, *Asia*, and *America*, bearing respectively a horse, an elephant, a camel, and a spotted animal, half jaguar, half llama. A draped female figure representing *Wisedome* stands on one side of the title, distaff in hand and a serpent coiled about her arm; on the other side a companion figure, marked *Science*, holds a square and compass. At the top of the page are the arms of Great Britain, and beneath them a winged figure blowing the trumpet of fame. At the bottom of the page is a representation of a scholar in robe and cap, seated at a table.

The title is as follows: THE | LIFE AND DEATH OF | HECTOR. | ONE, AND THE FIRST OF | *the most Puissant, Valiant, and Renowned* MONARCHES | *of the world, called the Nynne worthies.* | Shewing his invincible force, together with the | marvailous, and most famous Acts by him atchieved and done | in the great, long, and terrible Siege, which the Princes | of *Greece* held about the towne of *Troy*, for the space | of Tenne yeares. | *And finally his vnfortunate death after hee had fought a* | *Hundred mayne Battailes in open field against the GRECIANS:* | *The which heerein are all at large described.* | Wherein there were slaine on both sides Fourteene Hundred, and Sixe | Thowsand, Fourscore, and sixe men. | *Written by IOHN LIDGATE Monke of BERRY, and by him dedica-|ted to the high and mighty Prince HENRIE the fift, King of* | *England.* | AT LONDON, | *Printed by Thomas Purfoot. | Anno. Dom. 1614.*

The verso of the title-page is blank. On the next leaf recto the envoy begins. It consists of 13 seven-line stanzas, rhyming *ababbee*, and is headed: Prolog. THE | EPISTLE, AS IT | was dedicated vnto the high | *and mightie Prince HENRY the Fift.*

Most puissant Prince, whose fame is knowne so well,
And whose renowne so farre abroad doth shine,
That it is found all others to excell,
And equall with that of the worthies Nine:
Borne by discent of right Paternall line,
To be the heire, and th'onor to obtaine,
To weare the Crowne of mighty Kingdomes twaine.

Who even as farre as *Phoebus* in the spheare
 Celestiall, doth spread his beames most bright ;
 And as *Lucina* with her face most cleare,
 The world doth compasse round, & cast her light :
 Art held to be the most renowned knight,
 And worthy for the honor of thy name,
 To sit on high in throane of Lady Fame

The last stanza :

First that thou maist Gods mercy so procure
 Vnto thy selfe, that he may still advance
 Thine honor, and that thou maist here endure
 Thy raigne ore vs with long continuance,
 And all thy Subiects true obeysance :
 And that he will vouchsafe to giue to thee
 All vertues whatsoere may reckned bee.

On leaf ¶ 4 verso stands the *verba translatoris*, divided into two parts as in P 1 and P 2, headed "Lenvoy" and "*The Translator to his Booke.*" The part headed Lenvoy is printed in italic letters, and is as follows :

*Go forth my Booke vaild with the Princely Grace
 Of him, that is extold for excellence
 Throughout the world, but do not shew thy face,
 Without support of his magnificence :
 And who so ere against thee takes offence,
 Be thou not stubborne with presumption ;
 But see thou arme thy selfe with patience,
 And gently yeeld to their correction.*

The translator to his book :

And sith thou art not limb'd with trees nor flowers
 Of Eloquence, but clad in white and blacke ;
 Thou must prepare thy selfe t'abide the showers,
 Of them that of dislike occasion take :
 And when thou likeliest art to go to wracke,
 Seeme not gainst them thine error to defend ;
 But rather yeeld a little and giue backe,
 And pray them, that they will thy faults amend.

The prologue, printed in italics in double columns, begins on the opposite leaf. It is headed, "THE PREFACE TO | THE READER," and may be quoted in full for the sake of a comparison with Lydgate's work :

*My Muses subiect tending to intreate
 Of ancient warres, and acts of Chivalrie,*

Whereby renowned Knights much honour get :
And with Eternall parises¹ deifie
 (Their names and fames,) is forced to require
Thee mighty Mars with Art him to inspire.

Whose fiery nature bent to wrath and thrall,
 (As being of complexion hot and drie,
Melancholicke, and furious withall,
 For in thy bowels chollor hid doth lie.)
 Doth rightly cause all Poets sound thy fame,
And thee the God of warres in stories name.

Sith then thou art of warlike influence,
 And that my stile of battailes must indite :
Assist me with some Marshall Eloquence,
 That I may frame my hand and pen aright,
 With words of Art and arteficiall phrase,
 Of valiant Knights to sing th' eternall praise.

And if at my request thou dainst to list,
 Or graunt the thing which I of thee do craue,
Yet for her sake that lovingly thee kist,
 (Blacke Vulcans wife) and further fauour gaue ;
 Vouchsafe thy ayd my verse so to infuse,
 That I therein fit tearmes and phrase may vse.

Els truth to say, so barren is my wit,
 And void of Aureat liquord Eloquence,
That I confesse my selfe to be vnfit,
 Or able to accomplish my pretence.
 Helpe then God Mars for faire Bellonaes sake,
 And of my worke vouchsafe protection take.

And thou sweet Clio with thy sisters deare,
 Whose chiefe aboad is on Pernassus hill
By Helicon, the fountaine faire and cleare,
 Lend me thine ayd, and giue to me some skill,
 That loftie verse by stately tearmes may yeild
 To valiant Knights their honour due in field.

Assist herein likewise, ift be thy will
 Calliope, (to Orpheus mother deare,
Who in sweet musicke so exceld for skill,
 That with the sound of harpe as doth appeare,
 He pleasd the monster Cerberus so well,
 That he had leaue to enter into hell,

To fetch his loue out of th' infernall lake,
 Where Pluto held her for his owne sweet-hart,

¹ Praises.

*But with the musicke he to them did make,
He graunted she with him should thence depart.)
And with the dew of thy sweet liquor wet
My tongue so harsh, and in right tune it set.*

*For thou art sayd of Rethoricke to beare
The onely praise, and patronesse for skill,
And eke of musicke pleasant to the eare,
Thou canst direct each instrument at will :
Deny not then (sweet Muse) thy ayd to mee,
And I shall rest beholding vnto thee.*

*Els will the clouds of ignorance enclose
And round incanipe my wits that are so bare,
And cause the rude (to Poets vtter foes)
To laugh at me : But such as learned are
I will intreat what faults soere they find
To winke thereat, and keepe them in their mind..*

*And if that in my verses I haue err'd,
(As no man but may erre what ere he be)
I must confesse I never yet deseru'd
To haue the praise for excellent Poetrie.
For God he knowes when I this worke began,
I did it not for praise of any man.*

*But for to please the humor and the hest
Of my good Lord and Princely Patron,
Who [dis]dained not to me to make request
To write the same, least that obliuion
By tract of time, and times swift passing by,
Such valiant acts should cause obscur'd to lie.*

*And also cause his Princely high degree,
Provokes him study ancient Histories,
Whereas in Myrrour he may plainly see
How valiant Knights haue won the masteries
In battailes fierce, by prowesse and by might,
To run like race, and proue a worthy knight.*

*And as they sought to clime to honors seat,
So doth my Lord seeke therein to excell,
That as his name, so may his fame be great,
And thereby likewise Idlenesse expell.
For so he doth to vertue bend his mind,
That hard it is his equall now to find.*

*To write his Princely vertues, and declare
His valor, high renoune, and Maiestie,
His braue exploits, & Marshall acts that are
Most rare, and worthy his great dignitie ;
My barren head cannot devise by wit
T^r extoll his fame with words & phrases fit.*

*This mighty Prince whom I so much cōmend,
(Yet not so much as well deserues his fame.)*

By royall blood doth linally descend

*From HENRIE king of ENGLād forth by name
His eldest Son, & heire vnto the Crowne,
And by his vertues Prince of high renowne.*

(For by the graft the fruit men easly know)

Encreasing th' honour of his pedigree :

His name Lord HENRIE as our stories show,

And by his title Prince of WALES is hee :

*Who with good right, his father being dead,
Shal weare the Crown of BRITTAINE on his head.*

This mighty Prince hath made me vndertake

To write the siege of TROY the ancient towne,

And of their warres a true discourse to make

From point to point, as GUIDO sets it down :

*Who long since wrot the same in latin verse,
Which in the English now I will rehearse.*

The time when first I tooke the same in hand,

To say the truth was in the fourteenth yeare

Of famous HENRIE King of ENGLAND

The Fourth by name, my Princes Father deare.

When PHÆBUS shew'd in altitude to be,

Five three times told, and foure and one degree.

When he did in his Chariot downe descend

With golden streames into the Ocean strand

To bath his steeds, and light to others lend,

That farre remote inhabite th' Indian land.

Where when our Summer is cleane past and gon,

Their spring begins but newly to come on.

And when LUCINA faire with paler light

Began in cold October to arise,

(T'enchase the darkenes of the winters night,

And glistring starres appeard in christall skies :)

And then was in the signe of SCORPION,

And HESPERUS then westward running downe,

His course to hasten gainst to morrow bright,

As LUCIFER, that drives darke clouds away,

Is sayd to bee the messenger of light,

And shineth at the dawning of the day :

When PHÆBUS early shoes his glistring face,

Ascending from PROSERPINS obscure place,

Where PLUTO sits environed about

With furies of the fowle infernall Lake.

*In this yeare, moneth, and time as it fell out,
 This Historie I first in hand did take.
 And of the TROYAN wars the truth vntwind,
 And in my ancient Author I it find.*
*For if no Authors had the truth set downe
 In written Bookes, of things that are forepast,
 Forgetfulnes would soone haue trodden downe
 Each worthy act, and cleane extinct at last.
 Which Serpent never ceaseth to assaile
 The world, to cause all truth on earth to faile.*
*And had no ancient Histories been found,
 But all things vnto memorie were left;
 Truth surely then would soone be layd in ground,
 And men of knowledge vtterly bereft.
 But God intending Sathan to prevent,
 That hath foreseene, and writers alwaies sent
 From age to age, still to renew the same,
 That truth might alwaies spring and come to light,
 And thereby win an everlasting name,
 Against the which fowle envy still doth fight.
 But famous Clarke not ceasing truth to show,
 By writing leaue the same to vs to know.*
*Els time with syth, would soone cut downe the grasse,
 And rauening death extirpe the root and all,
 And nothing whatsoere on earth did passe
 Should haue record, the same to mind to call.
 Nor honor due to valiant Knights be read,
 But it with them should rest, and lie as dead.*
*And so not onely name, but fame would die,
 And wholly be defaced out of mind.
 But Histories explain the same to th' eie,
 As daylie by experience we may find.
 Nere ceasing spight of envy to vnfold
 The truth of all which may not be controld.*
*Therein we see of high and low estate,
 The life and acts as it were on a stage,
 For writers that are wise in heart do hate
 To speake vnruth, or flatter any age.
 For tyrants being dead they will not feare
 To write and shew their follies as they were.*
*And t' yield each man as he shall well deserue
 Be't good or bad, and therefore it is best,
 For every one that credit will preserue,
 In life to vertue cleaue, and vice detest:
 For after death know this and marke it well,
 Clarke will not spare the truth of them to tell.*

*For such vmpartiall dealing in their daies,
Great Princes in them tooke no small delight
For truly blasing forth their laud & praise,
Their high renown, their power & their might
Their knightly acts, their victories, & fame,
Eternally with glory of their name.*

*For they still sought to shun the sisters three,
FRAUD, NEGLIGENCE, and SLOTH, that none might doubt
Ought was forgot, or more put in to bee,
Then truth requird, and as the truth fell out.
Els worthy acts were wholly done in vaine,
And those that honour sought had lost their paine.*

*And time by length of yeares and ages past,
Would haue defaced name and honor cleane
Of Conquerors, (for what can ever last)
Vnlesse record thereof were to be seene :
Which Clarke (for which they merit and deserue
Continuall praise,) haue sought still to preserue.*

*For Histories and Bookes are sayd to bee
The keyes of learning, memory, and skill,
In them, and by them all men plainly see,
What hath forepast, and what is good, or ill :
Witnesse the fall of THEBES the ancient Towne,
In STACIES Booke for truth at large set downe.*

*Where you may read and see how Polinece
Was nere content with ETOCLES a day,
Nor would like louing Brother liue in peace,
Till THEBES Towne was brought vnto decay.
And how TEDEUS through that mortall strife,
And by dissention was bereft of life.*

*How OEDIPUS with sorrow, grieve, and woe,
Did loose his eies so bitterly he wept,
And how the Smoakes devided were in two,
Of fiers made, when funerall feasts was kept,
Which fier brothers hatred did engender,
And death to both for iust reward did render.*

*Mine author GUYDO in like sort doth show
(As by his Booke most plainly it appeares)
Of all the TROIAN Princes overthrow,
While GREEKS besieg'd the towne so many yeares,
In very truth, and though tis long since past,
No time, nor age, the storie hath defast.*

*For maugre them, you may it still behold
In Bookes set downe most plainly to mens eies,*

The Modernised Version of the Troy Book, 1614.

*For truth by lying will not be controld, ¶
 Though enviously some seeke it to disguise :
 Transforming all the substance of the matter
 By fayned tales, dissembling to flatter*

*As HOMER did, who truth would seeme to show,
 Yet covertly did seeke the same to hide,
 And by vnruth which he full well did know,
 With Artificiall words doth truth deride :
 Who seeming GREECIANS honour to defend,
 Doth faine the Gods from heaven to descend*

*In shape of men, and openly were knowne
 To helpe the GREEKS against the TROIANS fight,
 And many such vnruths by him are showne
 In sugred words, and phrases for delight :
 Pretending so his malice for to hide,
 For falsehood seekes in darkenes to abide.*

*The cause why he the GREEKS so smothly prais'd,
 Was for that he vnto them was allide,
 And therefore sought their glory to haue rais'd.
 But such as loue the truth cannot abide
 Gainst conscience for to praise or discommend,
 Where no desert their action may defend.*

*But CUPID (as the Poets faine) is blind,
 And giues his doome more after lust, then law :
 So Sicophants as we by prooffe doe find
 Commend and praise the men they never saw,
 By false report extolling them to skie,
 Of whom in heart they know full well they lie :*

*Whereby such men as never merit fame
 But iust disgrace, are highly magnified :
 And they contrary that deserue good name,
 Are either not remembred or beli'd :
 For favor now doth beare so great a sway,
 That true desert is driven cleane away.*

*OVIDIUS NASO likewise hath devisd
 A Booke in verse, of TROIAN wars to show,
 Part true, part false, but in such sort disguisd,
 That who so reads it, can by no meanes know
 Which way to sound the deapth of his intent,
 His phraise therein 's so mistically bent.*

*Like story also VIRGILL dothe declare,
 When of ÆNEAS trauailes he doth write,
 Where truth to tell in part he doth not spare,
 Although some time he seemeth to delight
 In HOMERS course, with Rethoricke to glose,
 And truth with falsehood often to compose.*

Dares an ancient Author first was found,
And DITUS eke of TROIAN warres to write,
Who both set down the truth & perfect groũd,
As being there, and did behold the fight.
And thogh their books in severall language be,
Yet they are knowen in all things to agree.

The Books in time to ATHENS being brought,
SALUSTIUS cousen, one CORNELIUS,
By diligent enquirie out them sought;
And being of a mind industrious,
Translated them with great & earnest care
In each respect, as th' Authors doth declare.

His only fault was, that he did not write
The story full at large as he it found,
But sure he did in breuity delight;
Els would he not haue spar'd to shew the groũd
And first beginning of that mortall strife,
Which cost so many thousand men their life.

And how the GREEKS came both by sea & lād[,]
The nūber of their men, and of their ships,
The manner how they first did take in hand
To plant their siege, (all this he ouerskips.)
How envy was the root and cause of all
The mischiefe that on TROY at last did fall.

How many Kings and Princes thither went
In warlike wise to win them high renoune,
How they agreed all with one conscent
To see the full subuersion of the Towne:
What armes they bare, what men they did retaine,
Who in the siege did longest there remaine.

How one the other Knightly did assaile,
How many valiant Princes lost their life:
How oft they met in field to giue battaile:
How hatred still increast and bred new strife:
Nor of their deaths he writeth not the yeare:
Thus much he leaueth out as doth appeare.

Which lately causd an Author to arise,
Whose truth in writing is not to be blam'd,
That tooke in hand this storie in such wise,
As that of DITUS and of DARES nam'd:
He hath not sought one sentence to neglect,
Nor yet in ought the meaning to reiect.

This Clarke that wrote so true, so iust, so well,
Was GUYDO of COLUMPNA by his name,

Who in sweet Rethoricke did so much excell,
 That he enricht his storie with the same :
 So Eloquently hath he set it downe,
 That he deserueth praise and high renoune.
 For which in heart and voice I will not stay,
 To giue him praise and commendation due,
 And with applause in truth, and rightly say,
 He was the flower most certainly and true,
 Of all that sought this storie to compile,
 For wit, and soveraign[e]ty of stile.
 Whose treces as I can I will obserue,
 If God vouchsafe me time and grace to do't,
 And graunt my labour may of him deserue
 The Princely praise that first provokt me to't :
 Beseeching all that see't, with heart & mind
 Not spare to speake, if any fault they find.
 And with good will I shall amend the same,
 (For many eies may see much more then one.)
 Correct them freely where you find the blame,
 But find not fault whereas deserueth none.
 And so in hope I shall your fauours win,
 With your support this storie ile begin.

Book I. begins on the first numbered page. The text, printed in double columns, is divided into chapters as in P 1 and P 2, the only difference being that the numbering starts afresh with each book, and that the final chapter (Lydgate's envoy), included at the end of Book V. in both P 1 and P 2, is printed at the beginning of the edition of 1614, together with the *verba translatoris*. There is no table of contents. The first six chapter headings of Book I. may, however, be quoted from the text for the sake of a comparison with those of P 1 and P 2 :

- Chapter I. (page 1) ¶ *How PELEUS King of THESSALIE, lost his people, men, women, and Children, by diuine punishment ; and after by prayer vnto the Gods, obtained others.*
 Chapter II. (page 2) ¶ *How King ÆSON by reason of his age would no longer rule in the Kingdome of THESSALIE : but caused his Brother PELEUS to be crowned in his stead.*
 Chapter III. (page 6) ¶ *How King PELEUS fearing to be deposed by his Nephew IASON, a worthy and valiant young Knight, counselled him to vndertake the perillous and most inuincible conquest of the Golden fleece at COLCHOS, who was content to grant to his Vncles desire.*

Chapter IV. (page 9) ¶ *How IASON in his Voyage to COLCHOS, by fortune was cast vpon the coast of TROY, where he went on Land to refresh himselfe, and his company.*

Chapter V. (page 12) ¶ *How LAOMEDON King of TROYE sent to IASON to command him and his company forthwith to depart out of his Countrie; and what answere they returned to the King againe.*

Chapter VI. (page 27) ¶ *How IASON by the onely helpe and aduise of (MEDEA King OETAS Daughter) enamored of him, acchieued the conquest of the Golden Fleece.*

The first lines of Book I. are as follows :

In *Thessalie* King *Peleus* once did raigne,
For vertue held a Prince of worthy fame,
Whose subiects as mine Author doth explaine,
Were *Myrmidons* so called by their name.
Of whose beginning *Ouid* doth rehearse,
The History at large in Latine verse.

And saith, that in that Countrie downe did fall
So furious a tempest from the skie,
That it consum'd the people great and small,
And left not one, but all di'de sodainlie,
Except the King, who desolate alone,
Went wandring in the woods, to make his mone.

Where for a time he walked to and fro,
Lamenting sore in mind his dolefull state,
And to himselfe complaining of his woe,
Began to curse his hard and cruell fate :
Till in the wood he chanst to spie a tree,
For height and thicknesse huge of quantity.

Which at the foot a hole had in the ground,
From whence of *Ants* great quantitie did creepe, etc.

The description of how Medea restored Aeson to youth (see lines 130–145 Book I.) is considerably amplified by the inclusion of various details, taken for the most part from Ovid. On page 2*b* it is stated how Medea went

Abroad into the fields to seeke for some, (herbs)
Such as she lik't, whereof when she had sped,
And with the same into a place did come,
Which she as then of purpose halowed :
She made two Altars all of *Turfe*, of which,
One vnto triple *Hecate* the witch,

Th' other vnto youth was consecrate.

And hauing couered them in decent wise,
With Vervin and with shrubs, such as she gat
There in the fields, to offer sacrifice :

She cut the throats of two black Rammes, whose blood
Mixt with a bowle of pure white milke and good,

And with as much sweet hony clarified,
She put into two pits of purpose made
Within the ground, and after that she cryed,
And certaine mumbling prayers softly sayd
To *Pluto* and his Wife, the Lords of hell,
And all the Elfes and Gods on earth that dwell.

To spare old *Aesons* life a little space,
And not in hast his wearied lims depriue
Of his most aged soule, and t' giue him grace
To hold the same : That he might longer liue.
Whom when she had in that sort long besought,
She wild that *Aesons* corps shold forth be brought

To her. Whereas with certaine carmes she said,
She cast him straight into a slumber deepe ;
And then before the Altar he was layd
Vpon the hearbs, as dead ; but yet a sleepe.
Which done, with haire disperst about her head,
The Altars she devoutly compassed.

And dipping sticks within the pits of blood,
She kindled them vpon the Altars twaine,
Betwixt the which at that same time she stood,
And then vnto her purpose to attaine,
She did with Brimstone, fire, and water pure,
Thrise purge old *Aesons* corps that slept full sure.

Meane time the medecine boyld within a pan
Of Brasse, which she of purpose had broght thither,
Which at that time to gather froth began,
Where roots, seeds, flowers, and leaues she sod together.
(Which for that strāge confectiō she thoght best)
With pretious stones that came out of the East.

And grauell fine that in the West she had.
And dew that fell vpon a Monday night.
With flesh and feathers of a wicked jade
A filthy witch, (that had her sole delight
In shape of Owle by night, to flie and slay
Young children, or to beare them cleane away.

And changlings in their cradles vs'd to leaue,)
The singles of a greedy Wolfe (that can

As some report, himselfe of shape bereau,
And when he list take on him forme of man.)
The slimes of water-snailes the which she found,
With labour great within the *Indian* ground.

The liuer of a Hart that liues so long.
And of a Crow that loathsome carrion beast,
(The which bycause the nature was so strong,
Had liued then Nine hundred yeares at least :)
The head and bill : of all which when she had,
An admirable composition made.

To lengthen *Aesons* aged yeares withall,
A withered bough (the which not long before
Downe from an Oliue tree did chance to fall,)
In hand she tooke, and with the same did pore,
And stir the liquor till the sticke waxe greene,
And sodainly both leaues and buds were seene

To spring thereon, & straight did berries beare.
And where the fire the skum thereof did throw
Vpon the earth, where it had dropt, euen there,
The ground began as fresh and green to show,
As it in summer did, and flowers to rise
Out of the same. Which when *Medea* spies,

She tooke a knife, and with a courage stout
Did cut old *Aesons* throat, where presently
His aged bloud did all come gushing out,
And with the boyling iuce did new supply,
Which when to *Aesons* corps she had powr'd in,
His haire that was so gray did straight begin

To turne, and wax as blacke as any coale,
His leane pale, withered skin grew faire and fresh,
The wrinkles in his face, and euery hole
Therein, were fild with yong and lusty flesh,
His limbs waxt lith, and all his ioyns did grow
So supple that he plainly then did show

To be a man of yong and youthfull yeares. . . .

Several additions also made to the description of the Labours of Hercules (Book I. 563 *et seq.*). On page 8 *a* it is stated how Hercules fought with Busiris "whose custome was to wash the ground with blood of men," and how, after disposing of a "cruell Bull,"

. . . on strong King *Auger* he did set,
Whom after long & cruell fight he slew.
And on a mighty Spaniard did not let
To trie his force, though it reported were,
That in one shape he did three bodies beare . . .

And in the Thracian Land when he did see
 The pampred Horses mangers fild to bee
 With flesh of men, in such a rage he grew,
 That after he their mangers downe had cast,
 The Iades themselues in cruell wise he slew,
 And to their Maister did the like at last.

At pages 26 and 27, a long soliloquy by Medea is inserted. It has to do with the question whether she shall or shall not assist Jason, and extends through some twenty stanzas. One hundred cubits are added to the height of the walls of Troy (comp. Lydgate, Book II. 579), for on page 59*b* we read :

The walles in hight three hundred Cubits were,
 Imbatled and bulwarked for fight :
 And in their thicknesse such proportion bare,
 That Cannon shot to pierce them had no might.
 And all the walles and howses in the towne
 Were Marble mixt with Alabaster stone.

Lines 941-952 are omitted in the 1614 print (the measurements of Ilion), also lines 653-656, the "fresche enbowyng," etc., which the author of 1614 was perhaps unable to understand. As a final example, the stanzas containing a description of the arming of the Trojans (Book III., 44 *et seq.*) may be quoted from page 139, as follows :

To tell what armes each Prince & Knight then had,
 Would be ore long and tedious to declare,
 Most sure it is, each one prouision made
 Of every thing that's needfull for the warre :
 Each severall people, Province, Land, or nation,
 Bearing such armes as was their ancient fashion.

Some had their Canvas Cassocks or their Iacks,
 That plated were with steele, & some then came
 With ancient Almaine rivets on their backs,
 Their sleeues of male and goriets of the same :
 Some coats of male, some caps of steele did weare,
 And in their hands a bill or holberd beare.

Some in their compleat armes were brauely clad,
 With Poldrons, & with Vanbras, & what more
 Thereto belond'g, and on their heads they had
 Their Caskets, with their Beavers close before,
 Throgh which (being shut) they might their foes behold,
 And let thē fall to breath when as they wold.

Some gantlets had, some not to overlade
Themselves with armes the easier to fight,
Had quilted Iacks that were of Canvas made,
And covered ore with silke most braue to sight :
Some Iepons had, some hauberions, and some
Into the field with Cassocks long did come

Downe to their knees, & in their hands did beare
Round Targets made of bone or else of wood,
The which all ore with Leather covered were :
And some their enemies furious force withstood
With shields of steele, of length frō head to foot.
Some with their bows & arrows fiercely shoot.

Some with their swords, some with their darts in hād[.]
Some with a foure squar'd headed Pollax fight ;
And some with Cros-bows & with Pikes do stand
Prepar'd to show their valor and their might :
And every one desiring for to doo't,
Stood ready there on horsbacke, or on foot,

After the manner of his Country.
And while they staid each one his armes did mend,
In every place whereas necessitie
Requir'd the same, the better to defend
His body : but in tearmes of Art to show
What therevnto belongs, or let you know

More touching this, I must my selfe excuse,
And pardon craue if therein I do misse ;
For sure tis not the thing which I do vse,
A Pen (and not a Pike) my weapon is :
Tis want of skill breeds jmperfection
In me, to make a right description

Thereof, in marshall tearmes as some men could,
But vnto him that's wise I will referre
My selfe herein, and pray him that he would
His censure mildly in this case deferre :
And such defects as he shall iustly find,
To winke thereat, and beare them in his mind.

It need hardly be said that blunders and misprints are frequent, and that the names of persons and places mentioned in the print of 1555,—itself by no means beyond criticism—are subjected to the most extraordinary transformations. Thus, for example, we read in Book III. (comp. line 4248 *et seq.*), apropos of the englishing of the

story of Troilus and Cressida by Chaucer, that the latter well deserves

That praise which once was for memoriall,
Giuen vnto *Patricke Francke* in *Italie*,
By sentence of the famous Cardinall
Columpna, that his name should neuer die. (p. 183 b)

“*Patricke Francke*” is of course intended for “*Petrak* [*Petrarch*] *Fraunceys*.”

Further quotations from Purfoot’s edition are to be found in KOEPEL, *Lydgate’s Story of Thebes. Eine Quellenuntersuchung* (dissertation), Munich, 1884. See also WARTON-HAZLITT, III, 81; ELLIS, *Specimens*, 3rd ed. I, 298; WATT (Authors), II, 624, *w, x*; LOWNDES, ed. Bohn, V, 1419;¹ HAZLITT, *Hand-Book*, p. 116 *b*; COLLIER, *Bibliographical and Critical Account*, 1865, I, 502; ALLIBONE,² article ‘*Lydgate*’; PANTON and DONALDSON, *Gest Hystoriale*, p. x; MORLEY, *English Writers*, VI, 121; SCHICK, *Temple of Glas*, p. cxliii; LEE, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, article ‘*Lydgate*.’

It remains to be said that, although the authorship of this version of the *Troy Book* is unknown, the work has sometimes been attributed to Thomas Heywood (comp. WARTON-HAZLITT, PANTON and DONALDSON, LEE, etc.). The volume contains about 30,600 lines and is, according to WATT, an “extraordinary monument of useless patience, unwearied perseverance, and perversion of genius.” We cannot agree with this criticism; for although true that *Lydgate’s Troy Book* was not turned to such “aureate Earth” during its burial of fifty odd years that any overwhelming desire could have been expected on the part of men to have it dug up again, nevertheless both original and modernised version have been in their day a source of pleasure to many generations of readers, as the well-thumbed pages of the numerous manuscripts and printed volumes which have come down to us testify.

II.

GENEALOGY OF THE MSS. AND PRINTS

The preliminary work of establishing the genealogy of the MSS. and prints has consisted in a collation of the first 1000 lines of

¹ Lowndes states that the 1614 print is “cited by Fuller, Winstanley, and others as *Lydgate’s own work*.”

² In Allibone we read that, “Fuller and other writers, mistaking it [the edition of 1614] for the original, are amazed that the language is so much more intelligible than that of Chaucer.”—MS. note by Dr. Farmer in a copy of the above.

Book II. with all the texts which I have examined. In addition, the three oldest MSS. (C, A, D 2) and a somewhat later MS., D 1, have been collated with one another in full. The first 1000 lines of Book II. were chosen as a basis for the genealogy, not only because the middle folios of a MS. are less likely to be missing than the leaves at the beginning and end, but also for the reason that they include Lydgate's well-known description of the rebuilding of Troy by Priam,—a passage which, abounding as it does in unusual terms, is much more likely to present variations in greater number and in sharper contrast to each other than a passage of equal length taken from a portion of the work in which a less complicated subject is treated. A careful examination of the texts has shown that with the exception of MSS. Do and K, each has been derived from one source and is apparently the work of one copyist.

The existence of some fifteen MSS. at the present day is a sure indication that a very large number of texts were in circulation during the 15th and 16th centuries. It follows, therefore, that inasmuch as so many connecting links have been lost, the task of constructing an approximately correct genealogy of the texts which remain to us will be a matter of considerable difficulty,—indeed, several of the earlier MSS. are now apparently the sole survivors of as many different groups. In the case of the later MSS. less trouble has been experienced in establishing their connexion with one another, although here, too, the lack of connecting links between the older texts has rendered it impossible to arrive at a very satisfactory result.

The *chronological* relations of the MSS. and prints with which we have to deal may best be shown in a table giving their approximate dates, as follows:

1420-30	1440-50	1450-60	1470	1480	1500-	1513 1555
C (Cotton, Aug. A. iv)	T (Trinity, O. 5. 2)	R 1 (Royal 18. D. ii)	{ D 1 (Digby 230) Cr (Crawford- Rylands MS.) J (St. John's College vi)	{ R 2 (Royal 18. D. vi) E (Exeter College MS. cxxx)	{ Do (Douce 148) K (Camb. MS. Kk. V. 80)	{ The two prints.
A (Arundel 99)						
D 2 (Digby 232)						
[The lost MS. upon which the 1513 print was based]						

The MSS. connected by braces in the above table are not only contemporaneous with one another, but in each case derived from a common source, and may consequently be treated together in three groups.

§ 1. Group Do, K.¹

Considering that in the first 500 lines of Book II. alone there are some 120 minor coincidences shared by no other MS. and 45 variations common to Do and K, as well as to one or another of the MSS. (practically all of the texts, including the prints, are represented), it will be most expedient to limit ourselves to an enumeration of the most important points of resemblance. Thus lines 2, 49-50, 95-96, 99-102, 119-168, 177-195, 390, 405-6, 447-48 are omitted, 57, 58, are transposed, and after 196 a line: "Ne so to wryt (wrytt K) in-to my termes gray (graye K)," is inserted.

Minor coincidences in the first 200 lines are,

3. Ne] *om.* 17. sche] *om.* 23. Whan] For. 35. goodly] full gudly Do, full goodly K. 37. lowe] fulle low Do, full low K. 39. her] *hys.* 40. worpi] hye gret. 54. þus] *om.* 56. drinkes] drynketh. 63. fret] fresche. 76. Hir] *Hys.* 77. euery] þat euery. 80. wil oute breke] may outreke. 81. In-to] In Do, Inne K. 88. noon] *om.* 89. In] Ne in. 93. 1st þat] But. 97. may] *om.* 103. þan to refresche hem frely *and* disport] And refresche wele *and* makys (makes K) hym (hem K) conforte (confort K). 104. hym] 3ow. 106. A-fore] After Do, Eftre K. 116. to moche] full gret a. 198. enewyng] amending Do, amending K.

There can, therefore, be no doubt that the two MSS. are very closely related to one another. On the other hand, the following unique variations in the first 500 lines render it improbable that either MS. is a copy of the other.

Do. 2.] In worldly þing fals and flekeryng] Contrar to pees ande euer in yre sytting. 23. hize] *hys.* 34. in] to. 52. And of somme sche þe botel filleth] And to some oþer þe bottale of sche filleth. 258. hir] *hys.* 269. he] þat he. 339. werching] writing. 356. had] sche had. 383. 1st After] In. After 391 Do inserts: "Ande warily brought to confusioune." 424. and] doune. 444. þer] þat þar.—recure] cure. 458. ende] wend. 485. devyse] dyssyre.

K. 2.] *om.* 25. most varriant] blandisshing. 31. To] And. 34. in] in-to. 39. for] fro. 62.=And to some sche othere þe bottale filleth. 83, 84. are transposed. 85. violence] offence. 86. offence] Wyolence. 109, 110. are transposed. 265. In] Inne till. 267. bothe] both ek. 277. 2nd and] *om.* 316. priuely] full prevaly. 361. betyde] tyd. 377, 378 are transposed. 459, 60. transposed.

K cannot well have been copied from Do, for it is not likely

¹ We have here to deal exclusively with the original portions of the MSS. as described in the foregoing section.

that the scribe would have omitted the line substituted for 2 in Do if he had the MS. before him; nor do the unique readings in K lend much support to the supposition that it was the original of Do. Although it must be admitted that in such carelessly-written MSS. almost anything in the shape of unique variations is possible, it would be safer to say that Do and K have been derived from a common original.

The most important coincidences with the other MSS. are as follows:

a. With A. 7. doun hym] hym doun (+J). 209. ful] *om.* (+D 1, Cr, J, P 1, P 2). 214. he] pai (+P 1, P 2). 278. also a man] a man also (+R 1, R 2, E, Cr). 290. Whiche] Withe yn (+P 1, P 2). 372. hour] tyme (+P 1, P 2). 373. 2nd of] *and.* 399. Wher-of] Wharfor (+P 1, P 2). 568. reysed was] was rayseed (+P 1). 595. pis] his (P 1, P 2, R 2). 825. first founde] founde first (+P 1, P 2). 923. in] in þe (+P 1, P 2, J).

b. With C. 173. sewe] schewe. 224. by] to (+R 2, E, R 1). 249. al pis] pis alle. 318. þe] a. 338. of] in. 366. and] and þe (+Cr, P 1). 410. and] and so (+R 1). 654. babewynes] bake wyne (+D 1, T). 777. any] mony. 886. tristesse] destresse (+D 2). 887. or] *and.* 918. hay] bay.¹

c. With D 2. 325. Iuno] hym (+R 1, P 1, D 1). 331. 1st pis] þe (+E). 865. þe] *om.* (+R 2, E, T, P 1). 886. (see *b.*) 918. blomys] blomes (+R 1, Cr, E, T).

d. With R 1. 17. peisyng] pasyng (passenge R 1). 42. of] of lowe. 43. emporische] Imprice Do, empryce K (Empriese R 1). 211. loste þus] had þus lost (þus loste R 1). 224. (see *b.*) 278. (see *a.*) 286. for] *om.* (+P 1, J). 301. alle] all þe (+R 2, E). 325. (see *c.*) 368. obseruauncys] obseruance (+J). 410. (see *b.*) 412. and] and so (+D 1). 485. edefye] to edyfyte (+Cr). 505. it] *om.* 508. purtreyour] portratoure (purtratoure R 1). 511. countenaunces] contynaunce (+D 1, Cr, T). 714. damaske] of damaske. 727. stondardis] standars (+T). 847. gynnyng] bygynnyng. 865. (see *c.*) 916. observaunces] obseruance.

e. With T. 55. As] Ande. 331. (see *c.*) 340. wonder] worthy. 483. was] is. 511. (see *d.*) 547. pis] þe (+R 2). 601. story] þe storye (+R 2). 654. (see *b.*) 713. 2nd of] *om.*—lyne] lynnyn (+Cr). 857. olde] of olde. 918. (see *c.*)

f. With R 2. and E. 21. pis] pis is (E only +D 1, Cr, J). 196. biggen] bygynne. 224. For] From.—(see *b.*) 278. (see *a.*) 300. of] of þe (+Cr). 301. (see *d.*) 331. (E only, see *c.*) 520. fame] name. 547. (see *e.*) 601. (see *e.*) 618. 2nd of] *om.* (R 2

¹ P 2 is not included in the above list nor in those that follow, for the reason, that, as will be seen later on, its text was based on P 1, and is therefore of no significance in this connexion.

only). 778. in-to] in (R 2 only). 793. and] one (on R 2, E). 947. fynde myzt] myght fynd (R 2 only).
g. With D 1, Cr, and J. 7. (J only, see *a*). 21. (see *f*). 24. pe] a (J, Cr only). 52. of] to. 75. and] or. 209. (see *a*). 300. (Cr only, see *f*). 325. (D 1 only, see *c*). 339. pis] pe (D 1 only). 366. (Cr only, see *b*). 368. (J only, see *d*). 412. (D 1 only, see *d*). 428. anon he gan] he gane anone (D 1 only). 437. gret] so gret (D 1 only). 485. (Cr only, see *d*). 511. (D 1, Cr only, see *d*). 519. heyzte] hyghe (D 1, Cr only). 604. gate] *om.* (D 1, Cr only). 629. nat] *om.* (J only). 658. I haue as now] as now I haue (Cr only). 909. Meving] Menynge (+ P 1, Menynges J). 997. as] a (Cr, J only).

It will be seen from the above list, that although there are readings in common with all the other MSS. and groups of MSS., the most important coincidences are with A. It is possible therefore that Do, K, and A may have been derived from a common source, from which, however, the first named MSS. are a long distance removed. It is also to be noticed that the list of coincidences with A has given us a clue to the source of P 1. As to this, further details will be given in § 7. Although there are a good many coincidences with R 1, they are for the most part of an unimportant nature and shared by other MSS. It is thus probable that Do and K are not related to R 1, and this conclusion is given support by the fact that, as will be seen later, R 1 and A have only one variation in common.¹

§ 2. *Group R 2, E.*

In addition to the common omissions of lines, etc., already mentioned in the description of E, there are important minor coincidences, as follows, in the first 500 lines of Book II:²

137. brouzt] brent. 152. schuld it] shal it R 2, shal yit E. 164. wher] where as. 168. ynglysch] *om.* 173. my] his. 180. folwe] kepe R 2, kep E. 198. 3e] þat ye. 214. it] *om.* 217. be] with. 218. huge and] wonder R 2, wonder E. 223. þat] than R 2, þanne E. 229. and] of. 230. with] which. 249. grounde] grow- ing. 250. his] here R 2, her E. 259. Of] *om.* 274. hiȝe] gret. 293. liche] *om.* 295. Priam] Priamus. 306. schulde] schul. 328. Creusa] Crusa. 337. ne] *om.* 353. while] village. 361. þat] *om.* 362. sprang] springeth R 2, springiþ E. 366. and] of. 380. men]

¹ I have not noted the different spellings of words in the various texts except in case the orthography itself is to be considered a coincidence. The same plan has been followed in the corresponding lists in subsequent §§.

² The folio containing the first 114 lines of Book II. is wanting in R 2.

om. 397. suster] douzter. 401. so] to. 414. hym] hem. 429. to] om. 436. in biggyng] y-bilded R 2, I-bildeth E. 457. wolde] must. 470. Chased] Chaseþ R 2, Chassip E. 479. aswaged] aswageth R 2, aswagiþ E. 485. At] And at. 489. contres] contre.

The above coincidences are more than sufficient to prove that the two MSS. have had a common origin. The large number of unique readings which are to be found in each MS. would, however, tend to disprove the assumption that either was copied from the other. Thus we find in R 2 the following blunders shared by no other text:

118. liste] wol. 133. vnkynde] vnkindeli. 216. falsely] miȝtli. 224. he] om. 233. hiȝe and pikke] thik and high. 341. to] for. 347. þat] om. 355. A-nother douzter also] Also an other douzter. 383. þis] þe. 390. worþi] king. 393. echon] also echon. 404. for] þat. 405. silf] so. 427. þer abyde] on bide. 435. towres] tour. 446. with] his. 487. Of] And. 499. grope] om. 503. swiche] which. 505. Or] Of—for] om. 534. about] om. 544. more of] of more. 572. Thre] A. 574. swiche] so huge. 585. and] om. 604. also] om. 615. sodeyn] sondri. 655. lusty] riche. 665. his] here. 686. þe] eueri. 687. alures] touris. 707. in] in þe. 710. werke] to werk. 720. scharp and square] square and sharp. 739. and corn] for. 745. For] om. 770. haþ] om. 773. townys] in touns. 781. to hym] om. 811. ay] om. 826. þe] om. 866. erecte] sett. 872. eke] yit. 876. Or] Of. 914. hem] om. 924. of] of þe. 950. was] om.—with-Inne] hath. 952. in] in þe. 970. clere] om. 974. for] om.

In E: 118. liste] om. 146. dredde] dret drad. 154. Byt] Bi. 201. And] ffor. 202. to] om. 244. stok] þe stok. 246. sowrs] shoure. 305. tyme] þe tyme. 353. beholden] se. After 354 E inserts, "A noble poet in writing of his stile." 427. þer] om. 468. þe] to. 533. 2nd and] om. 547. for] om. 561. affermyn] to affermen. 572. Thre dayes] The day. 588. þe] om. 656. Vynnetis] Ginettes. 662. ful] with. 697. as] was. 704. deuise or rekene] rekene or deuise. 750. ordure] odure. 771. for] om. 772. provinces] his prouinces. 794. knyȝthod] kniȝthod and. 816. de] the. 822. made it] madip. 848. maner] maner of. 866. erecte] directe. 873. honour] honours. 874. labour] labours. 892. made] and. 997. and] and a.

The following coincidences are shared by R 2 and E with the other *Troy Book* MSS.:¹

a. With A. 130. 2nd for] om. (+ T, D 1, Cr, P 1). 278. also a man] a man also (+ R 1, Do, K). 325. Iuno] in (+ Cr, J). 718. Swerdis pollex] Pollex swerdes + T, Pollexes swerdis A, P 1).

b. With C. 224. by] to (+ R 1, Do, K). 528. Of] Or (+ R 1). 830. with] be R 2, by E, be C. 961. stood] stonde.

¹ For the coincidences with Do and K see § 1, f.

c. With D 2. 449. pitously] drerily. 525. crestis] brestes (+ R 1). 865. þe] *om.* (+ R 1, T, P 1, Do. K). 959. in his] by his clere (by cler D 2, R 1, T. in þis by clere J).

d. With R 1. 224. (see b). 278. (see a). 301. alle] al þe (+ Do, K) 326. hir] his (+ P 1). 472. þat] þe. 525. (see c). 528. (see b). 645. Of] *om.* 798. fondid] founden (+ Cr, J). 865. (see c).

e. With T. 130. (see a). 150. 3if] *om.* 470. a] þe. 527. excelleng] excellent. 629. þar] dar (+ D 1, Cr). 647. or] and. 680. siluen] *om.* 718. (see a). 827. han] hath (+ J). 865. (see c).

f. With D 1, Cr, J. 130. (D 1, Cr only, see a). 140. þat] þe. (Cr only). 198. a] *om.* (D 1, Cr only). 295. þe] *om.* (D 1 only). 300. of] of the (Cr only + Do, K). 325. (Cr, J only, see a). 629. (D 1, Cr only, see e). 741. fysche] fisshes R 2, fisshis E, fyszsch J. 798. (Cr, J only, see d). 827. (J. only, see e).

The following variations are shared by R 2, and E, taken singly, with other MSS.:

1. R 2. 190. conforme] conferme (+ Cr, J). 230. for to auntre] to aurenture (+ Cr, D 1, J). 280. In] And (+ J). 292. þe] this (+ A). 323. aboue] amonge (+ Do). 388. vn-to] to (+ Cr). 461. this] his (+ C, T, P 1). 547. þis] the (+ T, Do, K). 595. þis] his (+ A, P 1, Do, K). 601. story] the story (+ T, Do, K). 618. 2nd of] *om.* (+ Do). 688. riche] lich (+ D 1). 762. 2nd from] *om.* (+ J). 778. in-to] in (+ Do). 862. or] and (+ P 1, J).
2. E. 313. and] and a (+ Cr, C). 466. to] *om.* (+ J). 478. rízt] lyche (+ C, T). 918. blosmys] blomis (+ R 1, Cr, D 2, T). 919. for] *om.* (+ J). 997. as] a (+ Cr, J, Do).

It is thus evident that none of the other texts are very closely related to the group R 2, E. Inasmuch, however, as the preponderance of important coincidences is in favour of D 2, there is at least a remote possibility of D 2 and R 2, E having had a common source, from which the last named MSS. are naturally removed by many intermediate links.

§ 3. *Group D 1, Cr, J.*

Not only are there common omissions of lines and half-lines in all three MSS. of this group (comp. descriptions of D 1, Cr, and J), but the minor coincidences also clearly show that they are very closely related to one another.

The following variations are common to all three MSS.: 75. a] *om.* 81. apese] a-sese J, acese D 1, acesse Cr. 96. happe] hap there D 1, happe ther Cr, happe þere to J. 98. of] for. 121. meynt] menged D 1, J, mengyd Cr. 157. longeþ] bilongith D 1,

belongith Cr, bylongeþ J. 174. lyche] aftir. 192. Al be] Al be it. 210. absent] sent. 291. his] *om.* 309. pilke] þat D 1, J, that Cr. 335. hym] he. 337. yse] see. 379. þei] *om.* 583. walles] wal. 592. bretexed] bretaged D 1, Cr, breteged J. 700. 1st percid] perchid D 1, perched Cr, perchyd J. 718. pollex] pollaxes D 1, J, polaxes Cr. 725. to make also] also to make. 727. devise] diuerse D 1, dyuerse J, diuers Cr. 987. wil wexe] wexeth D 1, wexit Cr, waxeþ J.

The coincidences shared by D 1, Cr,—D 1, J,—and Cr, J are as follows:

1. D 1, Cr: 6. fals *and* ful] ful fals *and*. 24. Ful] And. 25. most] *om.* 27. to somme] *om.* 78. gynne] begynne. 98. Doth] Do 3e D 1, Do ye Cr. 103. *and*] and to D 1, *and* to Cr. 134. nyl] nyllen D 1, nellen Cr. 151. to haue] to him take D 1, to hym take Cr. 180. 1st þe] þese D 1, this Cr. 192. ne can] can not. 239. cercle] cercles D 1, circlys Cr. 291, 292. are transposed. 298. þe ton] That one D 1, That one Cr. 310. þat] as. 312. *and*] as. 363. kepte] kepeth D 1, kepith Cr. 365. *and*] ay. 403. a-sondre] in sundre D 1, in sondri Cr. 460. After] But aftir. 489. al] *om.* 501. reise] areise D 1, arayse Cr. 518. of] for. 523. eche] euery. 546. walles] þe walles D 1, the walle Cr. 613. her] þe D 1, the Cr. 621. grete] *om.* 644. haþ] *om.* 645. on] *om.* 660. Ioynyng] Ioynynges D 1, ioyninges Cr. 798. þe] *om.* 834. han] hem.—hyze] *om.* 870. kynges] kynges *and*. 939. siȝt] Citee, D 1, Cite Cr. 942. þis] his. 995. al] *om.*

2. D 1, J: 214. ȝif] *and* D 1, J. 494. her] his D 1, hys J. 781. hym] hem.

3. Cr, J: 64. cause] causith Cr, causeþ J. 231. be] to be. 293. writ] writeth Cr, wryteþ J. 722. by] bi hem Cr, by hem J.

Although the assumption that D 1, Cr, and J are derived from a common source is justified, it is not probable that any one of them has been copied directly from the other, as the following list of readings testifies.

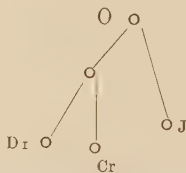
1. Unique readings in D 1: 62. eysel] eyser. 65. aproche] abroche. 108. peple] temple. 165. or] *and*. 205. also slayn] slayn also. 256. þei] þe. 295. þe] *om.* 383. þis] in this. 428. anon he gan] he gan anoon. 463. cast] þouȝte. 475. his] *om.* 539. he] *and*. 604. gate hiȝt] *om.* 617. as] of. 621. grete] *om.* 645. on] *om.* 657. þouȝ] Thoruȝ. 735. cours] stremes. 742. Devided] Diuysed. 945. as] þat. 962. And] At.

2. Unique readings in Cr: 8. bring] to bryng. 13. knewe] knowe. 14. courte] torne. 23. hym from hiȝe degre] fro hie degre hym. Lines 30–37 are transposed as follows: 30, 35, 36, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37. 38. her] his. 42. aduersite] dissese *and* aduersite. 50. 1st no] a. 65. hem] men. 68. fyneth] euer endith. 80. may] it may. 92.

may] it may. 104. hym] hem. 131. to] for to. 134. taken better] bettir take. 137. to] vn-to. 138. olde] these olde. 147. þe] *om.* 158. preferre] proferre. 168. ynglysch] of englisshe. 198. wher] where as. 201. furthe] for to. 208. Whiche] That. 213. *with om.* 231. hym] he. 278. was also a man] a was a man also. 295. þe king] *om.* etc.—altogether there are about one hundred unique variations in Cr in the first 1000 lines of Book II.

3. In J: 5. sche] he. 8. bring] and brynge. 15. Of] þe. 16. may] *om.* 18. feyned] feynynge. 25. while] tyme. 26. somme] somme men. 27. whilom] sum tyme. 40. can plunge] plungeth. 47. halte] to halte. 65. sche] heo. 67. þis] þe. 68. fyneth] feyneþ. 79. asches] askes. 81. men] þat men. 83. kynges] kyng. 87. com] ben come. 89. for] *om.* 95. I-thanked] also þanked. 105. haþ moche wo] mucche woo hath. 107. þe firste] þer-fore was. 114. so] to. 118. take] to take. 119. ay] after. 122. 2nd þat] *om.* 125. werris] werkes. 141. Kynges] And kynges. 151. and list to haue pite] *om.* 168. Syth] So. 186. 2nd of] lette. 187. 1st to] ful. 191. al] alle in. 218. Al be] Al beit þat. 238. also] as. 246. and welle] of wele. 254. euerychon] hem euerychon. 273. had] he. 278. science] sylence. 286. for tassaille] to assayle. 289. þoruþ-oute] þorgh. 299. grene] grete, etc.—in all about one hundred and thirty unique variations.

It is possible that D 1 and Cr were copied from the same MS., for they have a great many more variations in common with one another than with J. In this case we may assume that J is the descendant of a slightly earlier MS., perhaps the original of the text from which D 1 and Cr were obtained, in which case the relationship might be expressed in a diagram as follows, O being the common original:



The following coincidences are shared with other MSS.:¹

a. With A. 7. down hym] hym down (J only). 32. glorie] in glorie (J only + D 2, P 1). 130. 2nd for] *om.* (D 1, Cr only + P 1, T, R 2, E). 209. ful] *om.* (+ P 1). 278. also a man] a man also (Cr only + R 1). 325. Iuno] ynne (Cr, J only + R 2, E). 355. it] as it (D 1, Cr only + T). 384. Begynnynge] Begynne (D 1, Cr only).

¹ For the coincidences with Do, K and R 2, E, see §§ 1 and 2.

596. þe] *om.* (D 1 only + T). 654. vovsyng] housyng (J only + P 1, R 2)—(see *b*). 865. Est] þe Est (+ C). 923. in] in þe (J only + P 1).

b. With C. 94. 3e] it. 141. þe] þat (J only). 230. for] *om.* + R 2). 267. seken] sheten (schete J). 313. and] and a (Cr only). 366. and] and the (Cr only). 382. fynde hem] hem fynde (J only + T). 402. wepeth] and wepeth. 493. Or] Of (J only). 634. barrerys] barres (+ R 1, P 1, barrers Do, K). 640. þoru3-out] through (Cr only + R 1). 654. babewynes] bake vynys (D 1 only + bake wynes T, bakewynes C, A, bake wynes Do, K, blake vynes Cr). 886. in] *om.* (D 1, J only). 922. pese] þe (J only).

c. With D 2. 32. (J only, see *a*). 43. emporische] enpresse D 1, E, emperesse Cr, Emperesse D 2. 83. 3e] þe (+ T). 325. Iuno] hym (D 1 only + R 1, P 1, Do, K). 655. koynyng] copurnynges D 1, Cr (kopurnynge D 2, kapurnynge R 1). 918. blosmys] blomes (Cr only + R 1, T, E, Do, K).

d. With R 1. 4. or] and (Cr only). 7. doun] do (Cr only + T). 24. make] make on (J only). 54. recheles] and recheles (+ P 1). 278. (Cr only, see *a*). 325. (D 1 only, see *c*). 368. obseruauuncys] obseruance (J only + Do, K). 412. and] and so (D 1 only + Do, K). 459. ay] may (D 1 only). 485. edefye] to edifie (Cr only + Do, K). 511. countenaunces] countenaunce (D 1, Cr only + T, Do, K). 634. (see *b*). 798. fondid] founden (Cr, J only + R 2, E). 847. gynnyn] bygynnyng (J only + Do, K). 888. or] of (D 1 only + T). 909. byneþe of hem] of hem binethe (Cr only). 918. (Cr only, see *c*).

e. With T. 7. (Cr only, see *d*). 57. 2nd of] *om.* (D 1, Cr only). 83. (see *c*). 130. (D 1, Cr only, see *a*). 355. (D 1, Cr only, see *a*). 382. (J only, see *b*). 500. Or] Of (J only). 511. (D 1, Cr only, see *d*). 539. ybilt] bilte (Cr only). 596. (D 1 only, see *a*). 629. þar] dar (D 1, Cr only + R 2, E). 683. by] with (D 1 only). 814. þis] þat (J only). 827. han] hath (J only + R 2, E). 871. And] *om.* (Cr only). 888. (D 1 only, see *d*). 911. and] *om.* (D 1, Cr only).

On the whole, the above coincidences are so few and so evenly distributed, and the common readings shared by D 1, Cr, J so many, that we are obliged to assume that there is no close connexion with any of the other texts. The probability is, therefore, that D 1, Cr, J form an independent branch of the genealogical tree.

§ 4. MS. T.

The character of T conforms roughly to its date; that is to say, although superior to the MSS. of the three groups already described, the text is decidedly inferior to C, D 2, and A, as is shown by the following list of unique variations:

25. 3it] if. 37. loute lowe] lowe to lowte. 38. þrowe] rought.

55. froward] forward. 57. fraude] fraudes. 73. here] hir. 78. is] it is. 85. wel] right wele. 96. 3e] it. 100. gentilnes] gentille. 105. wrouzt] doo. 106. souzt] sey too. 121. envious] envenymous. 142. her lyves] his lyve. 148. beholde] holde. 152-328] *om.* (Folio missing). 337. 3et yse] it see. 339. touchyng] towcheth. 356. of birthe] a brother. 358. diuyneresse] diuernesse. 369. hyt] high. 376. boke] both. 387. waye] away. 396. her] his. 408. warie] varye. 443. he] she. 454. her] his. 466. gan to] gynneth. 476. to] *om.* 479. *and*] in. 485. edefye] edified. 503. Or] Of. 508. in] *om.* 516. dide] doth. 521. his] this. 551. coryous] colours. 557. mesour by leuel] leuell be mesure. 570. Grekis] the grekis. 574. 2nd of] *om.* 581. of] and. 583. 1st þe] to. 592. bretexed] betwix. 601. lyche] *om.* 604. higt also] also hight. 611. fayle] falli. 656. rennyng] reyneng. 661. Nor] Now. 665. his] the. 677] *om.* 703. man] a man. 708. to] for to. 731. þis] the. 737. as] *om.* 773. and in] *om.* 810. stodied] studyeth. 834. vn-to] to. 837. suffereþ] suffre. 839. a] the. 841. Ioye] troy. 874. laurer] lauber. 876. passyn in-to] in-to the. 884. þe] this. 919. gynne] begynneng. 958. grecis] grekes. 964. Depeynt] Depeynt was. 974. made] dede.—for to reyse] areise. 996. perre] perle.

Coincidences with other MSS. are as follows :¹

- a. With A.—130. 2nd for] *om.* (+ P 1, D 1, Cr, R 2, E). 355. it] as it (+ D 1, Cr). 596. þe] *om.* (+ D 1). 654. babewynes] bake wynes (+ Do, K, C, D 1).
- b. With C.—382. fynde hem] hem finde (+ J). 461. this] his (+ R 2, P 1). 654. (see a). 890. þat] *om.*
- c. With D 2.—83. 3e] the (+ Cr, D 1, J, E). 331. 1st þis] the (+ Do, K). 609. *and*] *om.* (+ R 1). 778. þe] *om.* (+ R 1). 865. þe] *om.* (+ R 1, Do, K, R 2, E). 918. blomys] blomys (+ R 1, E, Do, K, Cr). 959. in his] by cleer (+ R 1, by his clere R 2, E, in þis by clere J).
- d. With R 1.—7. doun] do (+ Cr). 500. for] *om.* 511. countenances] countenance (+ D 1, Cr, Do, K). 609. (see c). 731. so] *om.* 778. (see c). 865. (see c). 879. her] his. 888. of] or (+ D 1). 918. (see c). 959. (see c).

It cannot be said on the strength of the above lists of coincidences (including the variations shared by T with the groups of MSS. already described), that T is closely related to any of the other texts. Apparently, like the group D 1, Cr, J, it is a survivor of an independent branch of the genealogical tree.

¹ See §§ 1, 2, and 3 for coincidences with MSS. Do, K, R 2, E, D 1, Cr, and J.

§ 5. MS. R 1.

The text, although probably of a somewhat later date, is nevertheless slightly better than that of T, yielding in reliability only to the three oldest MSS. The unique minor variations are as follows :

10. is] be. 90. þat] *om.* 101. euery] evire. 116. moche] moche
a. 141. sege] felde. 160. dresse] redresse. 198. 3e] I. 224. he
gan] to. 246. sowrs] cours. 278. greet] high. 294. ful] fall. 304.
hym] *om.* 383. eueryche] iche. 397. And] *om.*—397, 398 are
transposed. 412. deuoyde] sterne. 422. so] sore.—*with* þis mortal
tale] liche dethe mortalle. 460. no recure vaile] be none awaylle.
490. euery] evire. 495. good] *om.* 522. euery] evire. 540. out]
yt. 567. assaut] assautis. 569. namyd] namede was. 570. þoru3]
with. 582. was] and. 587. any] anoy. 590. stonys] storres. 593.
chose] choise.—a-sondre] in sondere. 602. named] callede. 699.
in-to] in. 735. *with*] and. 737. þis] the. 749. ful] full clene.
752. 1st þe] in þe. 767. Rome] *om.* 771. hool] *om.* 773. 2nd in]
eke. 777. any] ony nyghe. 794. kny3thod] knyghtly. 817. of] of
his. 827. ofte of] of full. 834. vn-to] in-to. 843. lusty fresche]
fressh lusty. 879. her] his. 881. also] *om.* 888. mordre or ven-
gaunce] vengyançe mordure. 894. of] or. 896. tolde and rad] rad
and tolde. 902. viseris] grym vyseers. 933. chose] choise. 941.
þe] þat. 993. with] by. 994. excellence] dylygence.

The following coincidences are shared with A, C, and D 2 :

- a. With A.—278. also a man] a man also (+ R 2, E, Cr, Do, K).
- b. With C.—66. can] gan (+ Do, K). 141. þe] þat. 224. by]
to (+ R 2, E, Do, K). 410. and] and so (+ Do,
K). 528. Of] Or (+ R 2, E). 640. þoru3-out]
though.
- c. With D 2.—525. crestis] brestes (+ R 2, E). 546. walles]
walle. 609. and] *om.* (+ T). 865. þe] *om.* (+ R 2,
E, T, Do, K). 918. blosmys] blomes (+ Cr, E,
Do, K). 959. in his] by clere (+ T).

The above evidence, together with that presented in §§ 1, 2, 3, and 4, is of too slight a nature to warrant the conclusion that R 1 is closely related to any of the other MSS. Like the group D 1, Cr, J, and MS. T, it is in all probability a representative of an independent genealogical branch.

§ 6. *The three oldest MSS., A, D 2, C.*

1. A. Unique readings :

24. þe] to. 41. of] of the. 146. lond] sond. 150. but 3if] yif
but. 156. royal] his Roial. 248. and] *om.* 293. his] this. 348.

confusioun] conclusioun. 398. in-to] to. 432. 2nd þe] *om.* 437. of] *om.* 454. þe] to. 475. his] this. 555. 2nd þe] *om.* 628. And] And a. 742. *The last three letters of werkmen and the word corious are omitted.* 808. 1st so] *om.* 917. was] *om.* 935. to] *om.* 969. eche] of iche. 972. 2nd so] and. 996. and] and of.

Common readings with D 2 and C :

- a. With D 2.—32. and] and in (+ P 1, J).
- b. With C.—1. fortunat] fortunat. 364. prayer] prayers (+ P 1). 654. babewynes] bakewynes (+ T, D 1, Do, K).

2. D 2. Unique readings :

10. with] whiche. 33. fals] her fals. 37. and] to. 111. haue herde] hard. 116. moche] my. 155. in] *om.* 169. þat] *om.* 203. pat] *om.* 209, 210 *are transposed.* 227. 3onge lusty] lusty 3ong. 231. To] Tho. 233. A-fore] After. 234. wyfe] *om.* 242. worþines] worthieste. 276. Elenus] heleus. 328. as] and. 402. wepeth] slep. 462. to repeated. 525. crestes with-Inne] brestes wiþ many. 611. to] *om.* 629. þar] þat. 724. her] *om.* 758. þe] þat. 850. dedis] wordes. 863. þe] *om.* 889. Or] Of. 894. of] and. 922. wer] was.

Coincidences with C :

614. toure] tourn. 886. tristesse] distresse (+ Do, K).

3. C. Unique variations :

48. in rychesse] richely. 56. hir] his. 66. soote] soter. 113. þer was] *om.* 114. take] was take. 134. þei] 3e. 173. translacioun] transmutacioun. 198. in] *om.* 200. I wil a-non] a-non I wil. 206. his] the. 210. absent] went. 216. his fader han] han his fader. 299. grene] tender. 421. pale] and pale. 429. gan with hym] with hym gan. 542. þat] *om.* 559. in] on. 561. But] For. 564. his] þis. 569. to-forn] a-forn. 616. on] vp-on. 639. paleys] hous. 655. koynyng] kaxenyng. 668. þis] þe. 672. on] on þe. 784. to] *om.* 802. oper] þer. 857. conquerouris] conquerous. 867. awncien] awcien. 875. old *om.* 890. þat] *om.* 908. or] and. 911. 3rd now] *om.* 924. of] *om.* 931. werkes] werkmen. 943. first he most] he most first. 949. pleynly eke with al] with-Inne þe strong wal. 950. with-Inne þe strong wal] pleynly eke with-al. 955. reysed] reysen. 969. eche] *om.*

It is thus almost certain, not only that C, D 2, and A cannot be placed together in one group, but also that no two of them have been derived from a common original. Conversely, no one of them can have been derived from the other, for the lines omitted in each are included in the others.¹ On the same ground it may be said that none of the other texts has been copied from them. We have

¹ Compare descriptions in the foregoing section.

already seen, however, that A, Do, K, and the prints form a distinct group, and that there is a possible relation between D 2 and R 2, E. On the other hand, C, in spite of its external resemblance to D 2 (style of handwriting, similarity in miniatures, etc.) must, like R 1 and T, be looked upon as a representative of an independent branch in the genealogical scheme. The full collation which I have made of C, D 2, and A (together with D 1) tends only to support the conclusion that the three MSS. are independent of one another, as will be seen on referring to the lists of variations printed at the foot of each page of text. Sometimes D 2 and A agree, sometimes D 2 and C, sometimes C and A; and in such cases the reading that is supported by two MSS. is generally—although not always—the correct one. Occasionally all three MSS. have different readings, as in III. 1868, where the following variations are found:

For Parys made a Trompet to be blowe. A.
 With an horn þat parys made a trompet to blowe. D 2.
 For with an horn þat Paris made blowe. C (correct).

also in IV. 1837:

Of chyvalrye & of knyghthood the verray souereyn flour. A.
 Of chialrie þe verray souerayn flour. D 2 (correct).
 Of chialrie and of kny3thod floure. C.

§ 7. *The Prints.*

It has already been pointed out in § 1, that there is a certain relationship between P 1 and A, Do, K. The coincidences of P 1 with A, which are not shared by Do, K, are as follows:

32. *and*] *and* in (+D 2, J). 130. *one* For (+D 1, Cr, T, R 2, E, And for P 2). 364. *prayer*] *prayers* (+C, P 2). 414. *werst*] *wreste* (+T). 562. *pere*] *his pere*. 580. *Maskowed*] *Magecolled* (+P 2). 596. *þe*] *om.* (+D 1, T, P 2). 654. *vowsyng*] *housyng* (+J, R 2, P 2). 718. *Swerdis pollex*] *Pollaxes swerdes* (+P 2, Pollex swerdes R 2, E, T).

The following are the coincidences of P 1 with Do, K:

60. *tast*] *cast* (+P 2). 65. *tonne*] *can* (+P 2, kan K, gane Do). 286. *for*] *om.* (+R 1, P 2). 325. *Iuno*] *hym* (+R 1, D 2, D 1, P 2). 326. *hir*] *his* (+R 1, R 2, E, K only, P 2). 424. *and*] *om.* (K only). 615. *assaut*] *assautes* (+P 2). 634. *barrerys*] *barres* (+D 1, Cr, J, R 1, T, P 2, barrers Do, K, barreys C). 865. *þe*] *om.* (+R 1, R 2, E, D 2, T, P 2). 872. *emprises*] *empryse* (+P 2). 909. *Mevyng*] *Menynge* (+D 1, Cr, P 2, Menynges J). 914. *chaunteplure*] *chance plure*. 935. *þis*] *his* (+D 1, P 2).

It is thus certain that A, Do, K, P 1 (and P 2) are based upon

a common original, from which, however, Do and K are separated by several connecting links now lost. It is probable that P 1 was not taken directly from the original MS. of the group, but from a somewhat later text, as is testified by the following list of unique variations :¹

71. euer] so euer (+ P 2). 87. 3oure] this (+ P 2). 126. Strif] And stryfe. 135. afterward] after (after that P 2). 164. any] my (+ P 2). 211. þus] there. 220. to] of. 228. of] in. 270. he] om. 287. Oon] One of (+ P 2). 351. þe] in (+ P 2). 420. First] Fast. 437. noblesse] nobylnesse. 438. fynt al] fonde (+ founde P 2). 442. nyl] wyll not (+ P 2). 451. myrke] derke (+ darke P 2). 455. As] And (+ P 2). 495. good] good a. 498. owþer] om. 539. ybilt] ybylded (+ ybuylded P 2). 546. as] as a (+ P 2). 596. sexe gatis] gates vi (+ P 2). 608. and] om. 629. þar] nede (+ P 2). 631. 3oten] bryght. 656. þe] om. (+ P 2). 666. in] on (+ P 2). 681. by] with (+ P 2). 748. meatis] meanes (+ P 2). 768. wher] if (+ P 2). 828. nowe] nowe founde (+ P 2). 843. lusty] many (+ P 2). 957. of] om. 951. it] om.

In addition, the following coincidences are shared by P 1 with other MSS. :

54. recheles] and recheles (+ R 1, D 1, Cr, J, P 2). 180. 1st þe] these (+ pese D 1, this Cr). 461. this] his (+ C, T, R 2, P 2). 501. or] and (+ R 2, E, P 2). 778. þe] om. (+ R 1, T, D 2, P 2). 801. at] on (+ J, P 2). 862. or] and (+ R 2, J, P 2).

The variations in P 1 are followed so closely by P 2 as to leave no room for doubt that the text of the latter was based upon the former. The exceptions to this rule are so insignificant as to lend no support to the idea that the editor of P 2 had any other text before him except P 1. Thus, for example, in line 32 *in* was plainly omitted for the sake of the metre, and for the same reason in line 126 the *And* was struck out and *vnder* altered to *vnderneth*. In P 2, line 211 reads as follows : "When so his father lost hath so his lyfe"—an obvious instance of modernisation ; and in 220 a palpable blunder (*of kythe*) was corrected. The same may be said of lines 228, 270, and 414. In line 420, Braham replaced *Fast* by *In hast*—a purely conjectural emendation, for which authority is to be found in none of the MSS. Line 424 was subjected to much the same treatment by the substitution of *with* for *his* and the replacing of *and*. In 437 the correct reading is restored (*noblesse* for *nobylnesse*) ; the last half of 495 is altered into, "such as was a

¹ P 1 cannot have been printed from A, for the words and lines omitted in the latter are not omitted in the former.

good deuysour," and the obvious misprint in P 1 corrected. In 562 the correct reading is restored by the omission of the word *his*, and in 568 the ear of the editor must have told him that the inversion of *was reysed* was required by the metre. In 608 a very obvious blunder (the omission of *and*) was corrected; in 631 *bryght* is replaced by *shynning* on Braham's own authority; in 914 a blunder in spelling (*chaunce plure*) was set right; and in 927 the word *of*, omitted in P 1, was replaced. Thus there is no evidence to show that Braham had access to any text other than P 1. And this negative evidence is only strengthened by the innumerable unique variations in P 2, of which a list of the most characteristic is given below. It is to be noticed that in some cases words are inserted in order to adapt the metre to the pronunciation of the middle 16th century, in others, the text is simply modernised, and in many instances changes are introduced apparently for no reason at all.

The following lines may be quoted as examples of the insertion of words for the sake of the metre :

- 20. Unwarely can *do* blere a mannes eye.
- 24. Full falsly smile and make *to* him the mowe.
- 28. And to some false and *like* deceiuable.
- 34. And giltles *perde* put a man in blame.
- 38. And *from* their see she can *great* kinges throwe.
- 42. Into the vaile *like* of aduersytye.
- 44. And *eft* the pore she can enhaunce agayne.
- 47. And doth one renne & *maketh* another halte.

It goes without saying that authority for these changes is to be found in no MS.

Examples of alterations, transpositions, modernisations, blunders, and other variations introduced for no apparent reason except the personal preference of the editor are as follows :

60. zeuen hem a tast] giue him a cast (cast P 1). 68. fyneth alwey] alwayes fineth. 96. 3if 3e happe passe] where ye may fayle of grace. 109. fer] a farre. 123. aduerten in] aduert as in. 160. Sowpowailed I wil] As now I will ayene. 184. I toke non] Taking small. 185. lefte] lette. 200. a-non] nowe. 206. vnder] and that tofore. 227. he 3it had his 3onge] he was flowing yet. 239. goth his cercle] his cercle goeth. 248. Example] Patron. 260. remembre] recorde. 262. He] Ferre. 265. for to bere a] to beare a mighty. 267. For to seken] None might be found to seke. 268. myzte] might hardely. 275. tellep] sayeth. 285. founden] valyaunt. 286. desyr-ous] fearsely hote. 298. called] named. 315. cruelly] of crueltye. 320. was callyd] called was fayre. 324. And maked hym in heuene his] And in the heauens made him. 325 *is altered into*, Eternally

with hym to wonnen there, and the "dere sone" of 326 is replaced by "daughter dere." Thus Braham shows himself to be, if not a faithful editor, at least a better mythologist than Lydgate. 328. Hizte] Was hoote. 331 is as follows in P 2: And eke this stoyre sayeth that this Enee. 337 is remoulded into, That to no wyght could neuer yet be se. 373. forme] fortune. 374. nor schape] to beholde. 444. was] founde might be. 447. a] pale and. 460. þer may no recure vaile] their teares may not awayle. 517. crafty] crafte and. 554. douteles I radde neuer] certaynly I neuer redde. 617. wyld] sauage.—and] and of. 627. 3iffe nede were] When nede shulde be. 629. is "improved" into: That of assautes they nede take no charge. 674. þinges vegetable] thinges that bene vegetable. 722. Bowyers] Makers of bowes. 956, 957] om. by oversight of printer, for the correct catchword That stands at the bottom of the preceding leaf.

Although the above list might be indefinitely extended, the examples quoted are sufficient to give a fair idea of Braham's editorial methods. On the whole, the unique variations in P 2 average more than one to every four lines; there are over 90 of them in the first 300 lines alone.

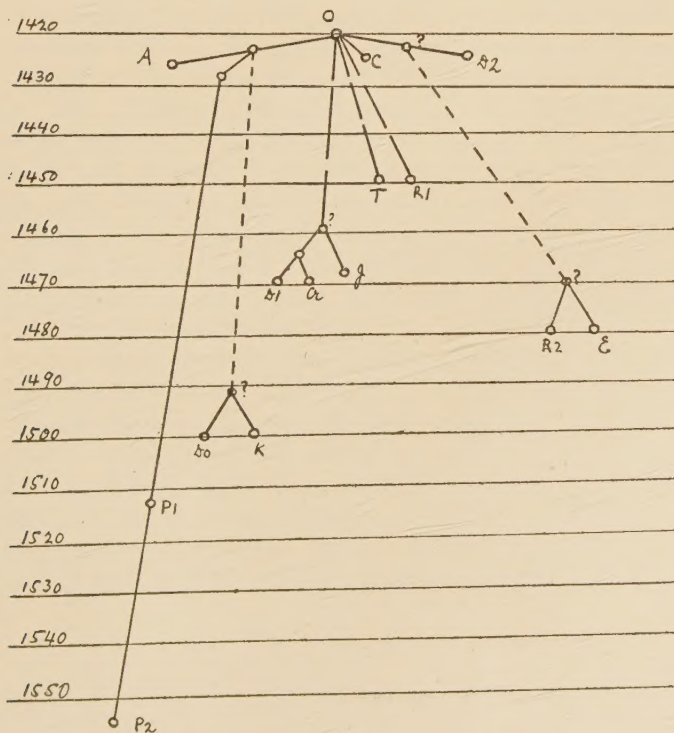
In conclusion, it may be said that P 2 was printed with Braham's emendations from P 1, and that P 1 must have been derived from a lost MS. which in turn was probably copied from the MS. source of A. It is also probable that Do and K are late descendants of this same MS.

SUMMARY.

We have seen in §§ 1 and 7 that MSS. Do, K, A and the two prints form a distinct group, and may be traced back to a common source, from which, however, the two late MSS. are much farther removed than the early MS. A and P 1. It was also shown in § 7 that P 1 must have been printed from an excellent MS. of approximately the same date as A, and on the whole so similar to A as to render it probable that both were derived from one source. Further, it has appeared from the lists of variations given in the latter part of § 7, that P 2 was obtained directly from P 1, and that there is no evidence to show that Robert Braham, the editor of P 2, made use of any other text. In § 2 it was shown not only that R 2 and E were copied from a common original, but that the early MS. D 2 may have belonged to the same group. In § 3 the close relationship of D 1, Cr, and J became at once apparent. On the other hand, it was found to be impossible to connect the group D 1, Cr, J with any of the other MSS., and consequently no other course was open than to

assume that these MSS. are the survivors of an independent branch of the genealogical scheme. In §§ 4 and 5, similar conclusions were reached in regard to MSS. T and R 1; and in § 6 the relative independence of the three oldest MSS., A, D 2, and C, was demonstrated, —MS. A being connected with the group Do, K, P 1, P 2; D 2 with R 2, E; and C, like T and R 1, with no other MS.

In the following diagram the dotted lines signify the loss of several connecting links; for example, the texts of Do, K are so poor as to preclude the possibility of their having been obtained from an early MS. The same applies to R 2, E. The broken lines used to join the group D 1, Cr, J and MSS. T and R 1 with the original MS. show that here, too, one or more connecting links are missing; the connexion, however, with the original MS. is obviously closer than in the case of Do, K and R 2, E. Although according to the diagram, C is derived directly from the original, we have no reason to believe that this must unconditionally have been the case, for D 2 and A are hardly inferior to C, and neither can have been copied directly from the author's manuscript.



CURRICULUM VITAE.

Ich, Henry van der Veer Bergen, bin am 8. August 1873 geboren, als Sohn eines Ingenieurs in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, U.S.A., und erhielt meinen ersten Unterricht an einer dortigen Privatschule. Ich besuchte das Polytechnic Institute in Brooklyn vom Jahre 1885 bis 1891, und die Dwight School in New York vom Jahre 1891 bis 1892. Im Jahre 1893 bezog ich die Sheffield Scientific School der Yale University, und im Sommer 1895 erwarb ich mir den Grad eines Baccalaureus Philosophiae. Im November 1895 kam ich nach Deutschland und studierte während des Winter- und Sommersemesters 1895-96 in Heidelberg. Im Sommer 1896 begab ich mich nach England, um Material für eine beabsichtigte Ausgabe von Lydgate's *Troy Book* zu sammeln, und arbeitete zu diesem Zweck in den Bibliotheken des British Museum und der Universitäten zu Oxford und Cambridge. Im April 1897 kehrte ich nach Deutschland zurück und studierte während des folgenden Sommersemesters in München. Den Sommer 1897 verbrachte ich wieder in England, an meiner *Troy Book* Ausgabe arbeitend. Während des Wintersemesters 1897-98 studierte ich in München. Im Sommer 1898 reiste ich nochmals nach England, wo ich bis 1901 verblieb. Äussere Umstände zwangen mich meine Hauptarbeit zu unterbrechen und mich mit anderen literarischen und bibliographischen Arbeiten zu beschäftigen. Im März 1901 kehrte ich nach München zurück, und studierte wieder an der hiesigen Universität vom Wintersemester 1901 bis zum Wintersemester 1904.

In Heidelberg hörte ich die Vorlesungen der Herren Professoren Schick, Neumann, Kuno Fischer und Hoops, und in München die der Herren Professoren Schick, Breymann, Muncker, von Hertling, Pöhlmann, Lipps und Paul. Allen meinen verehrten Lehrern spreche ich hiermit meinen herzlichen Dank aus, besonders Herrn Professor Schick, auf dessen Vorschlag ich die vorerwähnte Arbeit über Lydgate unternahm, und dessen stetiger Anregung und geduldiger Nachsicht ich deren Vollendung zum grossen Teil verdanke.

